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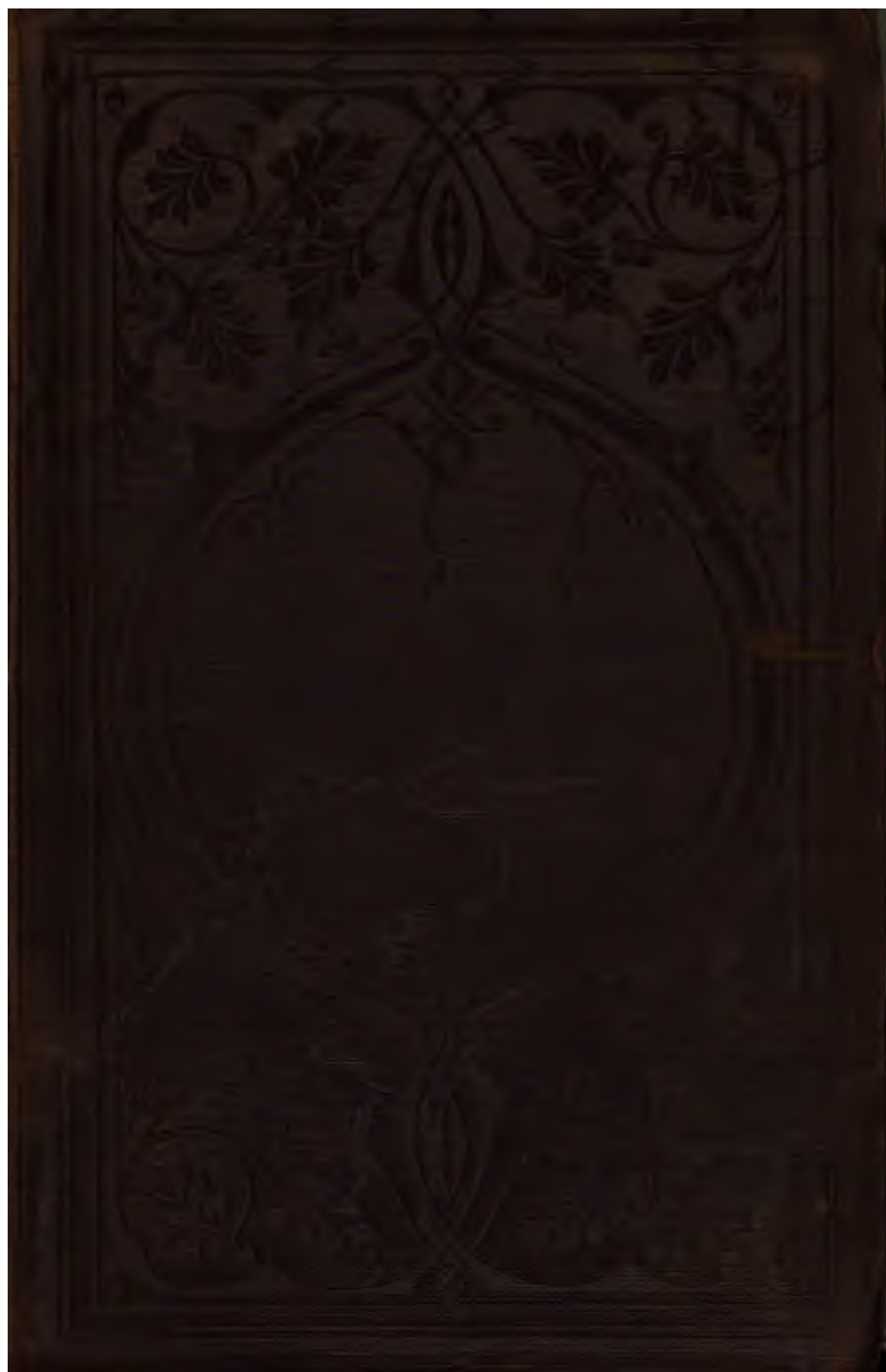
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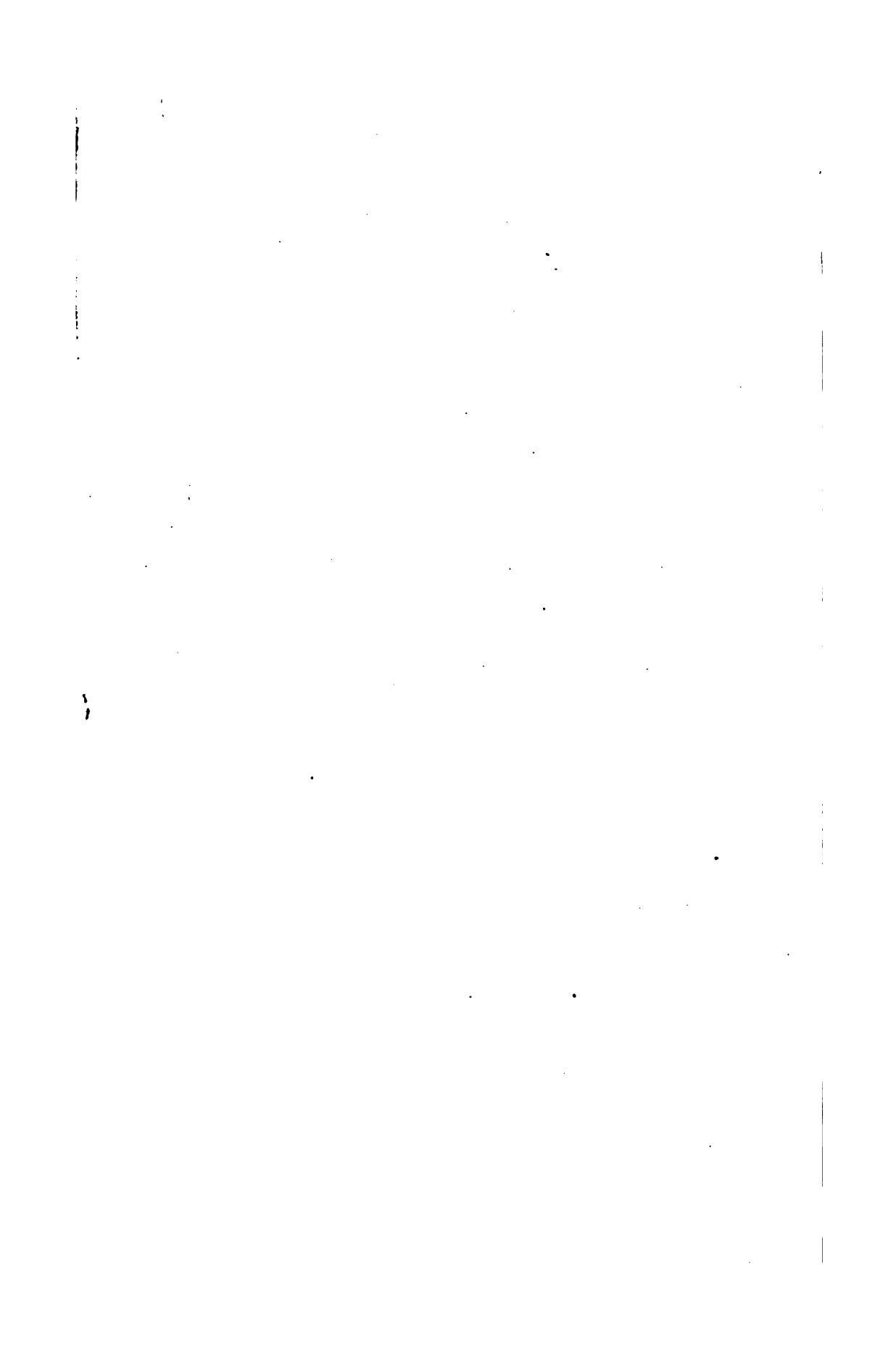
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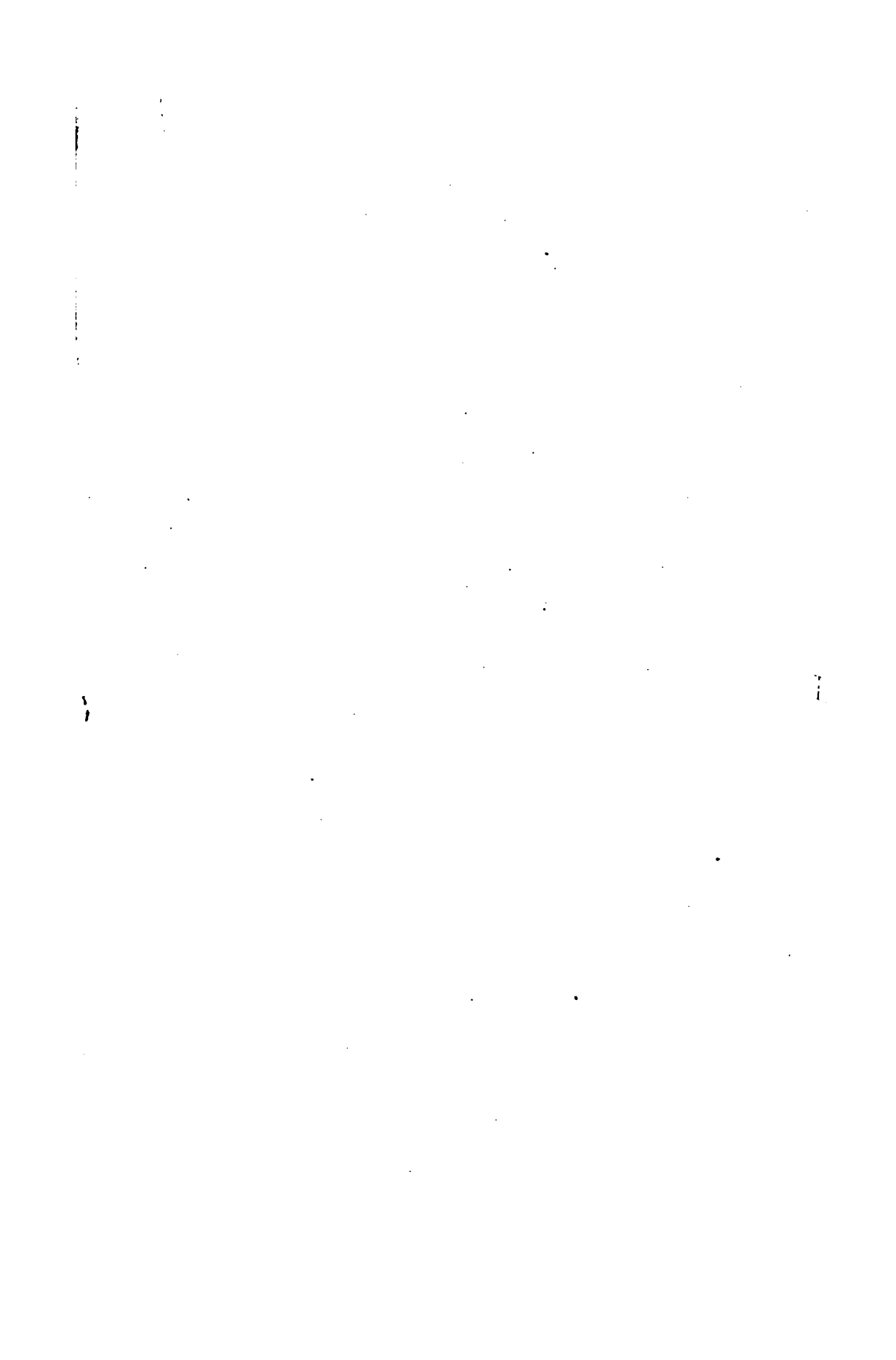


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HISTORY
OF
CHARLES THE FIRST
AND THE
ENGLISH REVOLUTION.



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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the Appendix to this Volume will be found some valuable despatches from the Dutch Ambassadors in London to the States-General, in reference to the trial and execution of Charles I. His Majesty the King of the Netherlands had the goodness to direct that the Archives of his kingdom and family, at the Hague, should be thrown open to me, and that I might take copies of any documents I might need. I envy the friends of truth and learning the pleasure of paying due homage to this act of royal liberality: for my own part, I must rest content with merely expressing my gratitude—anything more would be considered flattery. Though I have not yet reached that epoch of the English Revolution—the reign of James II.—of which the true history is assuredly contained in the Archives of the Hague, I hastened to consult them, and have already obtained from them much valuable information, and many documents of

the highest interest. His Excellency M. Van Gobelscroy, Minister of the Interior, and M. de Jouge, Keeper of the Archives, kindly gave me every facility and assistance in pursuing these researches. Let me here offer them my most sincere and hearty thanks : but my gratitude is not disinterested ; for in the further portions of my Work, I shall frequently have recourse to their kindness, which will need to be as inexhaustible as the rich treasure confided to their care.

GUIZOT.

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HISTORY
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BOOK IV.

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On being informed of these arrangements, the King, relieved in his turn from all uncertainty, displayed a greater amount of vigour. A small supply of stores had been sent him from Holland, and the Queen promised further remittances.¹ The Commissioners whom

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 102.

he had authorized to raise recruits in his name—the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Northampton, Lord Strange, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Sir Henry Hastings,—had met with some success in the western and northern counties.¹ Colonel Goring, the Governor of Portsmouth, had declared in his favour.² The Cavaliers were rising in all directions; they ranged the country on every side, forcing an entrance into the houses of the friends of the Parliament, and carrying off their money, horses and arms, with which they hastened to York, proud of the victories they had achieved, and the booty they had so easily won. Charles felt that such disorders would greatly injure his cause; and, in order to repress them, and at the same time to excite the zeal of the Royalists, he personally visited the counties of York, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham and Lincoln, calling the nobility together wherever he went, thanking them for their fidelity, and exhorting them to act with prudence and good order; during this progress, he displayed greater energy and affability than was usual with him, taking care to converse even with the common people, and losing no opportunity of proclaiming his firm attachment to the religion and laws of the country.³ These gatherings and speeches—the gentry deserting or fortifying their country-houses—the citizens rebuilding the walls of their towns—the roads thronged by armed travellers

¹ May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 224-227.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 172; Parliamentary History, vol. ii. col. 1440.

³ May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 213; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 189.

—the militia exercising every day—all presented the appearance of open war, and furnished pretexts and incitements to it, at every moment, and in every part of the kingdom. Blood had even been shed already in several encounters, which had more closely resembled riots than battles.¹ By his two unsuccessful attempts to gain possession of Hull and Coventry, the King had already given the Parliament cause to charge him with the first aggression.² Both parties were in equal dread of incurring this reproach; both were ready to risk all in the support of their rights; but both trembled at having to answer for the future. At length, on the 23rd of August, 1642, Charles resolved officially to call his subjects to arms, by setting up the royal standard at Nottingham. At six o'clock in the evening, on the brow of the hill which overlooks the town, attended by eight hundred horse and a small body of militia, he first ordered his proclamation to be read. The herald had already commenced reading it, when some scruples arose in the King's mind; he took back the paper, and slowly corrected several passages on his knee; then returned it to the herald, who had great difficulty in reading the corrections. The trumpets sounded; the standard was advanced, bearing this motto, "Give Cæsar his due!" But no one knew where to plant it, nor what were the precise formalities which had anciently accompanied this method of the convocation of vassals by their sovereign. The

¹ May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 226; Whitelocke, p. 54.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 172; Parliamentary History, vol. ii. col. 1456.

weather was gloomy, and the wind blew with violence. The standard was at length set up within the walls of the castle, on the top of a tower, in imitation of the example set by Richard III., the latest known precedent. On the following day, the wind had blown it down. "It should have been placed," said the King, "in an open place, where all men that would might freely come in to it, and not in a prison;" and he had it taken out of the castle, into the adjoining park. When the heralds attempted to fix it into the ground, they discovered that the spot they had chosen was a hard and solid rock. With their daggers they dug a small hole in which they inserted the staff, but it would not stand, and for some hours, it was held in its place by the soldiers. The spectators withdrew, with minds disturbed by sinister presentiments.¹ The King remained for some days at Nottingham, waiting, but in vain, for the country to respond to his appeal. The army of the Parliament was in process of formation at Northampton, no great distance from Nottingham, and already consisted of several regiments. "If the rebels should make a brisk attempt to that purpose," said Sir Jacob Astley, the major-general of the royal forces, "I could not give any assurance against his Majesty's being taken out of his bed."² Some members of his council urged the King to make another attempt at negotiation. "What, already!" said Charles, "at the beginning of the war, nay, even

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. i. p. 783; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. pp. 190—192; Lilly's Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles, in Maseres' Select Tracts, vol. i. p. 176.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 194.

before it has begun!" His friends insisted, on the ground of his weakness. On the 25th of August, four deputies—the Earls of Southampton and Dorset, Sir John Colepepper, and Sir William Uvedale—were sent to London, but returned without success; one of them, Lord Southampton, had even failed to obtain permission to deliver his message personally to the House.¹ About the middle of September, the King left Nottingham, and, in spite of his unwillingness to remove further from London, on being informed that the western counties displayed the most zeal for his cause, he transferred his head-quarters to Shrewsbury.

For more than a week, the Earl of Essex had been at the head of his army. On his departure from London, on the 9th of September, an immense crowd had accompanied him, with loud acclamations, and much waving of orange streamers, the colour of his house: whoever wore any other colour, was regarded with suspicion, and insulted.² At Northampton, he found nearly twenty thousand men assembled. A committee of both Houses was associated with him, and was to reside near him, but it was to meet under his presidency, and was invested with no superior powers to his own.³ He had instructions to transmit to the King a petition entreating him to return to London, and on his refusal to do so, he was to follow him wherever he went, and "by battle or otherwise, to rescue his Majesty's person, and the persons of the

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. ii. cols. 1458—1460.

² May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 246; Whitelocke, p. 62.

³ Parliamentary History, vol. ii. col. 1473. The committee consisted of twelve Lords, and twenty-four members of the House of Commons.

Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, out of the hands of those desperate persons who are now about them."¹

The petition was not even presented: the King declared that he would receive no address from men whom he had already proclaimed traitors.² At Shrewsbury, he had gained fresh strength and confidence. From the west and north, large bodies of recruits had at length arrived. In order to provide them with arms, he had, in spite of all resistance, appropriated those belonging to the militia of several counties; and he had also seized on some supplies which were on their way through the west to be shipped at Chester for Ireland. The Catholics of Shropshire and Staffordshire had advanced him five thousand pounds; a gentleman had paid him six thousand pounds for a peerage, and his partizans had secretly sent him money, even from London. About twelve thousand men had joined his standard.³ At the head of the cavalry, his nephew Prince Rupert,⁴ who had arrived from Germany in the beginning of September, scoured the surrounding country, and had already rendered himself odious by his rapine and brutality, but formidable for his courage and audacity. Essex advanced but slowly, and as though it were his purpose to follow rather than encounter his enemy. He reached

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. ii. col. 1472.

² October 16, 1642; Parliamentary History, vol. ii. col. 1484.

³ May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 246; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. pp. 217, 218; Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 114.

⁴ Second son of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, sister of Charles I.

Worcester, at no great distance from the King's headquarters, on the 23rd of September, and remained there in complete inaction for three weeks. Emboldened by this behaviour, by his success in a few skirmishes, and by the improved appearance of his condition, Charles resolved to march upon London, to terminate the war by one decisive blow; and he had already been three days on his march thither, when Essex started in pursuit of him, to defend the Parliament.

The alarm was great in London; so imminent a danger had not been anticipated; the Parliamentarians were filled with astonishment, the Royalists began to bestir themselves, and the people were alarmed. But the fear of the people may easily be turned into anger; and the Parliament did its best to effect this change in popular feeling. Equally firm and passionate in its acts and in its language, it suddenly took measures of defence against the King, and of severity against the malignants. All who had not subscribed to the voluntary contributions were heavily taxed, and compelled to pay at once; the recusants were imprisoned, and the suspected disarmed. Requisitions of every kind were made; all the stables in the city and suburbs were visited, and all the horses fit for service were seized. Fortifications were hastily thrown up; men, women and children laboured with equal zeal in their construction; chains were hung across the streets, and barricades erected; the militia were kept constantly on foot, ready to march at a moment's notice.¹

¹ May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 254; Parliamentary

Suddenly, on the morning of the 24th of October, the report was spread that a great battle had been fought, in which the Parliamentary army had been totally defeated, many officers killed, and large numbers taken prisoners. This news came from Uxbridge, a few miles from London, and had been announced, it was said, by Sir James Ramsey, a Scotchman and colonel of a regiment of cavalry, as he passed through the town in his flight. Almost at the same moment, other news arrived of a very different but equally uncertain character; the victory of the Earl of Essex was stated to be complete, and the royal army in utter rout. This intelligence had also been obtained from persons who had been met, on the Uxbridge road, galloping in all haste to announce this wonderful success in London.¹

Equally ignorant with the people as to the real state of the case, the Parliament directed the shops to be shut, ordered the militia to be at their posts and the citizens to await further orders; and required from each of its members a personal declaration of firm adherence to the Earl of Essex and his cause, whatever had happened or might happen.² It was not until the next day, the 26th of October, 1642, that Lord Wharton and Mr. Strode arrived from the army with an official account of the battle and its results.

It had been fought on the 23rd of October, near

History, vol. ii. cols. 1478—1485; Whitelocke, p. 63; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 269.

¹ Whitelocke, p. 64; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 300.

² Parliamentary History, vol. ii. col. 1494.

Keynton, in Warwickshire, at the foot of Edgehill: there only, after a march of ten days, during which the two armies, though at a short distance from one another, had been completely ignorant of each other's movements, Essex had at length come up with the King's troops. Though he had left behind him a portion of his artillery and several of his best regiments, among others that led by Hampden, he determined to fight without delay; and the King, on his side, had adopted the same resolution. Both were desirous of an engagement, Essex in order to save London, and Charles to put an end to the obstacles which he met with in a county so hostile to his cause, that the blacksmiths fled from the villages, to avoid shoeing the King's horses.¹ The action began at about two o'clock in the afternoon, and was kept up with great vigour until evening; the Parliamentary cavalry, weakened by the desertion of Sir Faithful Fortescue's regiment, which, when ordered to charge, went over to the enemy, were routed by Prince Rupert; but, with his reckless impetuosity and characteristic love of plunder, he pursued them for more than two miles, heedless of what was going on behind him. He was at length stopped by Hampden's regiment, which came up with the artillery, and forced him to return to the field of battle. On his return, he found the royal infantry broken and dispersed; the Earl of Lindsey was mortally wounded and a prisoner; the King's standard had fallen into the hands of the Parliamentarians; and the King himself had, at one time, been left almost alone, and was in imminent

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iii. p. 275.

danger of being taken. Essex's reserve alone remained in good order on the field. Charles and his nephew endeavoured in vain to encourage their squadrons to a new charge; they had returned in confusion; the soldiers were seeking their officers, and the officers their soldiers; the horses were ready to drop with fatigue; nothing could be done with them. The two armies spent the night on the field of battle, both anxiously awaiting the morrow, though both claimed the victory. The Parliament had lost the greatest number of soldiers, and the King most men of mark and officers. At break of day, Charles rode through the camp; a third of his infantry, and a great many cavalry, were missing; not that all had fallen, but the cold, the want of provisions, and the violence of the first onset, had disgusted a great many of the volunteers, and they had dispersed.¹ That he might freely continue his march on London, the King would gladly have risked another engagement; but he soon saw that it was impossible. In the Parliamentary camp, the same question had been debated; Hampden, Hollis, Stapleton, and most of the officers of militia and members of the House of Commons, implored Essex to recommence the fight without delay: "The King," they said, "is unable to maintain it; three fresh regiments have joined us; he will either fall into our hands, or be forced to accept our conditions; the speedy termination of the war can alone save the country from misfortunes, and the Parliament from risks, which it is impossible to foresee."

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 33—38; May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 262; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 283.

But the soldiers by profession, the officers trained in the continental wars, Colonel Dalbier and others, opposed this suggestion; in their opinion, it was a great achievement to have fought so glorious a fight with mere recruits; London was saved, but their success had cost them dear; the soldiers, unused to battle, were surprised and dispirited; they would not fight again so soon with any heartiness; the Parliament had but one army, which they must train to war, and not risk all in one day. They spoke with authority; Essex adopted their advice, and transferred his headquarters to Warwick, in the rear of the royal army, but sufficiently near to enable him to follow its movements.¹ A few days after, the King, continuing his march towards London, though without any intention of proceeding thither, fixed his head-quarters at Oxford, of all the large towns in the kingdom the most devoted to his cause.

In London as well as at Oxford, public thanksgivings were celebrated: for the Parliament, as its friends whispered among themselves, had obtained a great deliverance, though but a small victory. It soon perceived that even this deliverance was far from complete.² The royal troops, nearer London than those of Essex, scoured the adjacent country; most of the deserters rejoined their regiments, having been cured of their first terror by the hope of booty. Banbury, Abingdon, and Henley, towns on which the Parliament believed it could rely, opened their gates to the King, without striking a blow. The garrison of Reading, com-

¹ Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 64.

² *Ibid.*

manded by Henry Martyn, a cynical demagogue who was one of Cromwell's intimate friends, fled disgracefully at the approach of a few squadrons;¹ and the King removed his head-quarters to that town. Prince Rupert overran and pillaged the country to the very suburbs of London.² The city grew alarmed; the House of Lords welcomed pacific proposals.³ Essex was ordered to draw near the metropolis with his troops; and in the meanwhile, it was resolved that a safe-conduct should be requested of the King, for six commissioners who were appointed to open negotiations with him. He refused to include in it one of their number, Sir John Evelyn, whom he had just previously proclaimed a traitor.⁴ The House of Commons now wished to break off the whole affair. On the 7th of November, Essex had arrived. On the 8th, the Lord Mayor called a general meeting of the citizens at Guildhall. Two members of Parliament, Lord Brook and Sir Harry Vane, attended the meeting, to arouse their courage, and induce them to march out and join the general's forces. Alluding to the battle of Edgehill, Lord Brook said: "Certainly it is the greatest victory that was ever gotten; near two thousand (I love to speak with the least) on their side slain, and I am confident not a hundred on our side, unless you will take in women and children, carmen and dogs, for they slew the very dogs and all! If you take in women,

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iii. p. 318.

² Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 64.

³ October 29, 1642; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 1.

⁴ November 2, 1642; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 2-5; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iii. p. 322.

children, carmen, and dogs, then they slew about two hundred. . . . The general's resolution is to go out to-morrow, and do again as much as he hath done. All this is for your sake ; for he can be a free man, he can be a gentleman, he can be a great man, he can go where he will ; therefore, it is only for your sake he is resolved to go out to-morrow. When you hear the drums beat (for it is resolved that the drums shall beat to-morrow) say not, I beseech you, 'I am not of the trained band,' nor this, nor that, nor the other ; but doubt not to go out to the work, and fight courageously, and this shall be the day of your deliverance."¹ The hall rang with acclamations ; but the popular alarm was not dispelled ; the King, whose partizans kept him informed of all that happened, had hastened his march, and was now at Colnbrook, fifteen miles from London. The Parliament consented to send five of its commissioners, without insisting on the admission of Evelyn. Charles gave them a gracious reception, on the 11th of November, and said that at any place, even at the gates of the city, he would be ready to treat.² When his answer was read in the House of Lords, on the morning of the 12th of November, Essex rose in his place, and demanded what he was to do, whether he was to continue or to suspend hostilities. He was ordered to suspend hostilities ; and Sir Peter Killigrew was despatched to treat of an armistice. On his arrival at Brentford, seven miles from London, he found that

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 6—9.

² Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 58 ; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 9—11.

the war had recommenced already. Notwithstanding that negotiations were pending, the King had continued to advance, and had fallen unexpectedly on Hollis's regiment, which was quartered at Brentford, in the hope of routing it without much difficulty, and entering the city before any effectual resistance could be offered. But the gallant conduct of Hollis's men gave time for the regiments of Hampden and Lord Brook, which were in cantonment in the neighbourhood, to come to their relief, and for several hours they sustained alone the onslaught of the royal army. The cannonading was heard in London, but no one understood its cause. As soon as he heard the news, Essex, who was in the House of Lords at the time, mounted his horse, and hastened, with such troops as he could collect, to bring off his regiments. On his arrival, the action was at an end; the soldiers of Hampden and Hollis, after great carnage, had retreated in disorder; the King occupied Brentford, but there he had halted, and did not seem disposed to push forward any further.¹

London was now filled with indignation, and this feeling was the stronger because it was coupled with an increase of fear. The King's perfidy and barbarity formed the sole subject of conversation; he intended, it was said, to take the city by assault, during the night, and to give up its inhabitants, with their families and property, to the mercy of his ruthless

¹ May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 274. This action at Brentford has been a subject of great debate between Parliamentary and Royalist writers; but I think that, by carefully weighing and comparing dates, I have been able to give a correct account of it.

and licentious Cavaliers.¹ Even the warmest advocates of the war bitterly complained of his having thus brought it under their very walls, and exposed so many thousands of his peaceful subjects to such horrible danger. The Parliament immediately sought to profit by this popular feeling. It invited the apprentices to enlist, and promised that the time of their service should count as part of their apprenticeship; the city offered four thousand of its militia, and appointed Skippon to command them. "Come, my boys, my brave boys," he said, as he placed himself at their head, "let us pray heartily, and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest, brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily; and God will bless us."² During a day and night, these new levies of militia-men and volunteers, marched successively out of London to join the ranks of the army; and on the 14th of November, two days after the action at Brentford, Essex, accompanied by nearly all the members of both Houses, and a vast crowd of spectators, reviewed twenty-four thousand men drawn up in battle array on Turnham-green, less than a mile from the King's outposts.

Here the discussion which had arisen in the general's council, after the battle of Edgehill, was again renewed. Hampden and his friends urgently demanded an immediate attack. "Never again," they

¹ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 14.

said, "shall we find the people so firmly confident of victory, or under such an imperious necessity to conquer." Their opinion prevailed for a moment, and some movements of the troops were ordered in consequence. But Essex consented to action with great unwillingness; his veteran officers persisted in their opposition: and an incident occurred to support their objections. One day, while the army was drawn up in order opposite the royal troops, either because the King's forces appeared to make a movement of attack, or from some other motive, two or three hundred spectators, who had come from London on horseback, suddenly turned round, and galloped at full speed towards town. At this sight, great agitation pervaded the Parliamentary ranks, discouraging phrases were uttered, and many of the soldiers seemed disposed to desert their colours and return to their homes. When the mistake became evident, their countenances regained their serenity, and the ranks closed again: abundant supplies of provisions, wine, tobacco, and commodities of all sorts, sent by the women in the city to their husbands and sons, restored confidence and gaiety to the camp. But Essex firmly refused to risk all, in reliance on popular enthusiasm; he recalled the troops which had been sent forward, and put himself entirely in a posture of defence; and the King, who, on his side, was in great dread of an attack, for he had neither powder nor ball, effected his retreat without obstruction, first to Reading, and then to Oxford, where he took up his winter quarters.¹

¹ Whitelocke pp. 65, 66; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 24.

So much hesitation and delay, against which the leaders of the Parliament struggled in vain, originated in more powerful causes than the wavering attitude of the soldiers or the prudence of the general. Even the city was full of division and uncertainty: the peace party there did not hesitate to proclaim its principles, and was joined, especially among the higher class of citizens, by many men who had consented to the war with fear and sorrow, only because they did not know how to prevent it. Already, numerous petitions, while protesting with the utmost vigour against Popery and absolute power, called upon Parliament to put an end to the war.¹ In vain were they thrown aside, in vain were their authors menaced; other petitions arrived from the counties, addressed to the Lords, who were considered more likely to give them a favourable reception.² Petitions of an opposite character were not wanting; on the one hand, the magistrates and Common Council of the city (who had been appointed by recent elections), and on the other, the lower class of citizens and the populace, were devoted to the boldest leaders of the Commons, and eagerly availed themselves of every opportunity to stimulate or support them. A tradesman, named Shute, came almost daily to the bar of the House, accompanied by a numerous train, to demand in the name of "the most active and most religious part of the city," that the war should be carried on with vigour.³ He was received with favour, and thanked

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 43. ² Ibid., vol. iii. col. 46.

³ Ibid., vol. iii. cols. 12, 22, 37.

for his zeal; but when his language became too imperious, when he spoke too insolently of the Lords and officers of the army, it was judged necessary to reprimand him;¹ for no one would have ventured to say, or perhaps even to think, that the Parliament would be obliged to separate from the nobles who were engaged in its cause, or would be able to triumph without their support. To give the friends of peace some ostensible satisfaction, it was resolved that the Common Council should officially put the question, not to the Parliament, but to the King himself; on him would thus devolve the embarrassment of giving an answer, and the answer he was likely to give could not fail to displease the citizens. With the consent of both Houses, a deputation from the Common Council proceeded to Oxford, on the 2nd of January, 1643. The King smiled when they urged him to return to London, and promised to defend him from tumults. "You cannot maintain peace and quiet among yourselves," he said; and he dismissed the deputation with his answer, sending with them a gentleman with orders to read it, in his name, to the assembled citizens. The meeting was held on the 13th of January; an immense crowd filled Guildhall; Lord Manchester and Mr. Pym attended, on behalf of the Parliament,- to rebut any accusation the King might bring against them. At sight of this eager multitude, the Royal Commissioner became alarmed, and wished to be excused from reading the message, on account of the weakness of his voice. He was,

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 38.

however, required to discharge his commission, and obeyed; but he was forced to read the message twice, in different parts of the hall, that all present might hear him. At the second reading, some Royalists, who were standing timidly near the door, ventured to cheer, but their cheers were immediately drowned by violent murmurs. The King's letter was long, bitter in tone, and full of recriminations, which indicated no desire for peace. Pym and Lord Manchester spoke in reply to it; shouts of "We will live and die with them!" greeted their words on every side; and for a time at least, pacific petitions were discountenanced.¹ The attempts of the Royalist party never produced any other result; but they were unceasingly renewed; they kept both Westminster and the City in a state of continual anxiety; but no one as yet thought of opposing them by those final excesses of tyranny, which give parties a few days of uncontrolled power, for which they have soon to pay by long reverses. The Parliament, intent on its conflict with this internal evil, was unable either to display its full energy out of doors, or to direct it freely towards other contests.

In the counties it was otherwise. There, parties were trammelled by no ties; there, no general and decisive responsibility attached to their acts, and no political necessities or calculations interfered to regulate or intimidate their passions. Thus, whilst in the neighbourhood of London, between the Parliament and the King, the war seemed to languish, it was car-

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 110—116; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 49—61.

ried on elsewhere, between the Parliamentarians and the Royalists, with spontaneous energy and openness, and was conducted in each locality on the account of its inhabitants alone, and almost without reference to what was going on between Oxford and London. A few months had scarcely passed, and yet the kingdom was covered with warlike confederations, freely formed, either by men of the same opinion in a particular county, or by neighbouring counties, for the common maintenance of their common cause. As a preliminary step, these confederations requested and received from the Parliament or the King, as the case might be, a general commission for their leaders, and authority to levy soldiers, to impose taxes, and to take all such measures as they might deem necessary to insure success. They then acted separately and almost entirely at their own discretion, except that from time to time they sent accounts of their position and actions to Oxford or London, and solicited assistance or advice in case of need.¹ In the absence of such local leagues, and sometimes simultaneously with their formation, some wealthy and influential gentleman frequently raised a small body of men, and carried on a partizan warfare, either in the immediate vicinity of his town

¹ Of these confederacies, the two most important were, in the north, that of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, for the Royal cause; and in the east, that of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Essex, Lincoln, and Hertford shires, for the Parliament. Next in importance was the league of the midland counties of Northampton, Warwick, Leicester, Derby, and Stafford, for the Parliament; and that of the south-western counties of Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, for the King.—Rushworth, part. iii. vol. ii. pp. 68, 94—98, 119, 381.

or estate, or to a greater distance, as his boldness, strength, or necessities dictated.¹ But if, in other quarters, more pacific tendencies momentarily prevailed, they were manifested with as much independence; in Yorkshire and Cheshire, the two parties, believing themselves almost equally strong, and more capable of injuring than of conquering one another, officially concluded a treaty of neutrality;² and almost at the same time, at the opposite extremity of England, the counties of Devon and Cornwall solemnly swore, by commissioners, to remain at peace, and to leave the King and the Parliament to fight out their quarrel between themselves.³ But both the Parliament and the King severely censured such conventions;⁴ and the men who had entered into them had presumed too much on their mutual forbearance, for they soon became involved in the war, like the rest of their countrymen. In the wealthiest and most populous counties, those of the east, centre, and south-east of England, the Parliamentarians had the predominance; in the northern, western, and south-western counties, the Royalists were the strongest; for in those counties landed property was less divided, industry less active, the nobility more influential, and the Roman Catholic religion more prevalent. But in both these divisions of the kingdom, especially in that in which the royal cause prevailed, the weaker party was strong enough to hold its enemies in check; and the Parliament had

¹ See the *Memoirs of Ludlow* and of *Mrs. Hutchinson*.

² *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. iii. p. 448.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 434.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 436.

this great advantage, that the counties devoted to its interests were nearly all contiguous and compacted together, so as to constitute a formidable belt round London; whereas the royalist counties, extending in a long and narrow line from the south-west to the north-east, from the Land's End in Cornwall to the northern extremity of Durham, and intersected at several points by districts of contrary opinions, were far less united among themselves, found it very difficult to communicate with each other, were rarely able to act in concert, and could only protect the rear of Charles's headquarters at Oxford, which, though a devotedly royalist town, was too far advanced, and lay almost in isolation amidst the enemy's territory.

A war of this kind, in midwinter, and with the two main armies in a state of almost complete inactivity, could not lead to prompt or decisive results. Sudden and brief expeditions were made almost daily, small towns were alternately occupied and abandoned, but in these surprises and encounters, success and defeat were very evenly balanced between the two parties.¹ The townsfolk were growing used to war, but without becoming practised soldiers. Some leaders began to earn distinction by their courage, ability, or good fortune; but no one was yet known to the whole people, and their influence was local, like their achievements. Besides, though passions ran high, the manners of the people were generous and merciful; although the aristocracy were on the decline, and the new power of the

¹ See the *Memoirs of Ludlow* and of *Colonel Hutchinson*; *May's History of the Long Parliament*, pp. 242—275.

Commons was the real cause of the national movement, the country was in insurrection against the King and his tyranny; the various classes of society were not at war, nor were they under any necessity of oppressing one another, in self-defence or for self-emanicipation. On both sides, and in almost every locality, the command was in the hands of men of almost equal rank, trained to the same habits, and able to understand and respect each other even while they fought. Though licentious, frivolous, and rapacious, the Cavaliers were not bloodthirsty; and with all their stern fanaticism, the Presbyterians retained an amount of respect for the laws and for humanity which has seldom been paralleled in the annals of civil discord. Relatives, neighbours, and friends, while serving under opposite standards, did not break off all kindly intercourse, but even lent each other assistance in case of need; when they met in arms, they treated one another with courtesy, as persons who had been recently at peace, and who were not yet irrevocably separated.¹ Prisoners were usually liberated on giving a promise not to serve again; if it happened that they were left in great destitution, even if the King saw them defile before him with an air of cold indifference, the greatest indignation was felt;² and the frequently cruel brutality of Prince Rupert caused so much surprise and scandal, that the very multitude spoke of him with aversion and disgust as an uncivilized foreigner. Thus

¹ *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 114—119; *Ludlow's Memoirs*, p. 19.

² *Lilly's Observations*, in *Maseres' Select Tracts*, vol. i. pp. 144, 145; *Whitlocke*, p. 64.

The image displays a series of parallel, slightly wavy horizontal lines that create a strong sense of depth and texture. The lines are dark against a lighter background, with some areas appearing more saturated than others, suggesting a three-dimensional surface or a highly reflective material. The overall effect is one of a dense, layered structure, possibly a close-up of a book's pages or a textured wall.

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the war, though everywhere present and maintained with great enthusiasm, was unattended by that furious violence which would have hastened it to a close; the two parties, though honest in their opposition, seemed unwilling to strike each other with too much vigour; and fighting daily occurred in all parts of the kingdom, without either accelerating the course of events, or leading the King and Parliament to cease to lose time in trivial debates or vain negotiations.

Towards the middle of February, however, the arrival of the Queen gave a more active character to the progress of affairs. For more than a year she had been in Holland, where she had displayed address and activity of no common order, for the purpose of obtaining assistance. The aristocratic party then prevailed in the States; and the Stadtholder, her son-in-law, seconded her efforts with all his power. Confident and adventurous when her mind was troubled by no pressing danger, gracious and alluring to those of whom she had need, she succeeded in interesting the republican and taciturn people of Holland in her fate. In vain did the Parliament, in September, 1642, send Mr. Walter Strickland as their ambassador to the Hague, to remind the Dutch of the services which the English nation had rendered in past times to the liberty of the United Provinces, and to demand that they should at least observe a strict neutrality. Strickland, after having waited a long time for an audience, had great difficulty in obtaining even an equivocal declaration; the people openly manifested their ill-will towards him, and the Queen continued

without obstruction her preparations for departure.¹ Four ships, laden with arms, ammunition, officers and soldiers, sailed in her train : and Admiral Batten, who had been ordered by the Parliament to intercept the convoy, did not come up with it until it had reached Burlington, on the 22nd of February, 1643. Batten cannonaded the town. The Queen's lodgings were on the quay, and some of the balls fell upon the house, and even into the room in which she lay asleep : she rose in all haste, and fled into the fields, where, it is said, she remained concealed for several hours under a bank.² Soon the country rang with narratives of her courage amid her dangers : Lord Newcastle came with a body of troops to conduct her to York ; the gentry surrounded her with enthusiasm, burning with indignation against the traitor Batten, who, they said, had fired intentionally on the house which she occupied. A host of Catholics thronged to serve under her standard : in vain was this infraction of the laws of the realm denounced in the strongest terms to the King and the Parliament ; in vain, with a view to discredit or intimidate Lord Newcastle, was his army styled *the Queen's army*, and *the Catholic army* ;³ he had long been formally authorized by the King to act as he had done,⁴ so he treated these complaints with contempt, and retained his new soldiers. He soon

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 157—163 ; Harris's *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 250, note.

² Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iii. p. 445 ; *Mémoires de Madame de Motteville*, vol. i. p. 273.

³ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iii. p. 444.

⁴ See Appendix I.

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Royalists, promised to place the town in her hands; and even Sir John Hotham did not seem disinclined to open to her those gates of Hull which, before the outbreak of the war, he had so boldly shut against the King. In fine, throughout the north, the Royalists were full of ardour and hopefulness; the Parliamentarians, anxious and silent, wrote letter after letter to London, to beg for advice and support.

The Parliament itself grew anxious. At the commencement of the war, it had hoped to obtain immediate success. The increase of taxation excited murmurs:¹ there were rumours of conspiracies in the City: notwithstanding the absence of so many members who were friendly to peace, whenever the subject was broached, it found numerous partizans, even among the Commons. Negotiations were not altogether broken off; it was proposed that they should be resumed, and that, as an evidence of their good faith, both parties should disband their armies when they began to treat. Sir Benjamin Rudyard supported the motion. "I have long and thoughtfully expected," he said, "that the cup of trembling which hath gone round about us to other nations, would at length come in amongst us; it is now come at last, and we may drink the dregs of it—the worst, which God avert! There is yet some comfort left, that our miseries are not likely to last long; for we cannot fight here as they do in Germany, in that great, large, vast conti-

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 77. The new taxes amounted to 10,000*l.* a-week on the city of London, and 33,518*l.* a-week on the whole of the country. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 493.

ment, where, although there be war in some parts of it, yet there are many other remote quiet places for trade and tillage to support in. We must fight as in a cockpit; we are surrounded with the sea; we have no stronger holds than our own skulls and our own ribs to keep out enemies; so that the whole kingdom will suddenly be but one flame. It hath been said in this House, that we are bound in conscience to punish the shedding of innocent blood; but, Sir, who shall be answerable for all the innocent blood which shall be spilt hereafter, if we do not endeavour a peace by a speedy treaty? Certainly God is as much to be trusted in a treaty as in a war; it is He that gives wisdom to treat as well as courage to fight, and success to both, as it pleaseth Him. Blood is a crying sin; it pollutes a land. Why should we defile this land any longer? Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, let us stint blood as soon as we can.”¹ The motion was rejected, on the 17th of February, 1643, by a majority of only three votes;² but the words of Sir Benjamin Rudyard were in the mouths of most good men. The leaders of the Commons secretly shuddered at finding themselves thus forced to solicit a peace, which was impossible except on conditions which would render it fatal to themselves. They yielded, however; for few men, even among their friends, were violent enough to admit the evils of civil war as inevitable; and on the

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 80, 81.

² There were two divisions in the House: on the first, the motion was supported by sixty-three votes against sixty-six; on the second, by eighty-three votes against eighty-six.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 79.

20th of March, after some preliminary negotiations, five commissioners¹ set out for Oxford, with instructions to discuss, during twenty days, first a suspension of hostilities, and afterwards a treaty.

The King received them graciously; their relations with the Court were dignified and courteous; the Earl of Northumberland, as chief commissioner, affected great magnificence; he had brought with him all his household, his plate, and his wine; supplies of provisions were sent to him from London. The Royalists visited him, and dined at his house; the King even deigned to accept some presents from him for his own table.² Some of the earl's colleagues, though simple members of the House of Commons, took pleasure in appearing at Oxford with equal splendour. But when they came to negotiate, these brilliant demonstrations were of no effect; neither the Parliament nor the King could accept the conditions which were proposed on either side, for they were the same which, before the war began, had been haughtily rejected, and they would have given over the consenting party, in a defenceless state, to its adversaries. One evening, the envoys of the Parliament flattered themselves that they had at length obtained from the King, in reference probably to the militia, a concession of some value: after a long conference, he had appeared to yield, and he was to give them his answer in on the following morning. To their great su

¹ The Earl of Northumberland, Sir John Holland, William Pierrepont, and Bulstrode Whitelocke.

² Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 68.

was utterly different from that which had been agreed upon; and they learned that when the King went to bed, during the absence of his ministers, the gentlemen of his bedchamber, who were in the Queen's confidence, had induced him to change his resolution.¹ "If the King," said Mr. Pierrepoint, one of the commissioners, to the royal counsellors, "would at least be induced to gratify some of the lords now attached to the Parliament in their demands, their influence might be of service to him." But Charles, haughty and rancorous towards his courtiers as well as towards his people, would hardly tolerate the suggestion that he should one day restore the office of Lord High Admiral to the Earl of Northumberland; and intrigues based on an appeal to personal interests were as vain as their success would have proved futile.² The King, like the leaders of the Commons, was not desirous of peace; he had promised the Queen that he would never make peace without her consent; and she wrote to him constantly from York to urge him not to do so, expressing her displeasure that negotiations should have been opened in her absence, and declaring to her husband that she would leave England, unless she were officially provided with a guard.³ A petition from the officers in garrison at Oxford, which had been secretly set on foot by the King himself, strongly opposed any suspension of hostilities.⁴ In vain did some of the commissioners of the Parliament endea-

¹ Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 69.

² Clarendon's *Life*, vol. i. p. 183.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 185—188.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 178.

vour, in private conferences, to alarm Charles as to the future;¹ in vain did other commissioners, who had been sent from Scotland to solicit the assembling of a Parliament in that kingdom, volunteer their mediation.² He rejected the offer as an insult, forbade them to meddle with the affairs of England, and at length, as his final answer to the negociators, offered to return to the Parliament, if it would transfer its place of meeting to some town at least twenty miles from London. On receiving this message, the two Houses suddenly recalled their commissioners by so peremptory an order that they deemed it their duty to leave Oxford that very day, though it was late, and their travelling carriages were not ready.³

Their conduct at Oxford, and especially their intimacy with the King and his Court, had filled the advocates of war with much distrust. On his arrival in London, Lord Northumberland learned that one of his letters to his wife had been opened by Henry Martyn, one of the members of the Committee of Safety, who was known only by the violence of his language, and by his flight from Reading at the approach of the royal troops. No nobleman was more tenacious of his dignity than the earl, or more accustomed to be treated with deference by his fellow-citizens. Meeting Martyn at Westminster, he demanded an explanation of his outrageous conduct; and as Martyn sneeringly

¹ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 68.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 521; Clarendon's Life, vol. i. p. 188.

³ Whitelocke, p. 69; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 164—261; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 17.

justified what he had done, the earl struck him with his cane in the presence of several witnesses. The quarrel, when brought before Parliament, was received by the Commons with some embarrassment, by the Lords with haughty indifference; and it was hushed up almost immediately.¹ Matters were in that state in which every circumstance reveals and fomented dissensions which no one is willing to see developed. Spring was near at hand; whether peace were desired or feared, it was necessary to prepare for war. On the same day that the commissioners returned to London, Essex again took the field.² It was still Hampden's opinion that he should march at once upon Oxford, to besiege and reduce the King.³ At Oxford, it was feared this might be done, and it was proposed that the King should rejoin the Queen and Lord Newcastle in the north. But Essex, still distrustful of his troops, or already uneasy at his success, again rejected this bold advice, and encamping between Oxford and London, remained satisfied with laying siege to Reading, a place which, in his opinion, was indispensable to the safety of the Parliament.

Reading surrendered on the 27th of April, after a siege of ten days. Hampden again demanded that Oxford should be attacked; but Essex persisted in his refusal.⁴ Nothing was further from his thoughts than

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 109: Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 51.

² On the 15th of April, 1643, according to Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 265; on the 17th, according to May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 278.

³ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 39.

⁴ Ibid., vol. iv. p. 40.

treachery or fear; but he carried on the war with regret, and no longer enjoyed the pleasures of popularity to dispel his melancholy forebodings. Even before the opening of the campaign, some dissatisfaction had been expressed against him in the House of Commons, and particularly in the Committee of Safety, which was the real focus of the revolutionary party. The more violent had even gone so far as to inquire whether it would be impossible to supersede him, and the name of Hampden, it is said, was mentioned as his successor.¹ Hampden was too wise a man to entertain the mere idea of holding a power for which he felt no desire: whether he was capable or not of commanding, he had merely served as a colonel under Essex. Since the outbreak of the war, and particularly during the winter, other officers had won more independent and more extensive celebrity. In the north, Fairfax and his father, notwithstanding the superior forces of Lord Newcastle, had daily, with the most brilliant courage, disputed with him the possession of that part of the country at every point.² At the head of the association of the eastern counties, Lord Manchester³ had had, it is true, no royalist leader of any renown to contend with; but he had frequently sent valuable aid to the Parliamentarians in the northern and midland districts; well-organized bodies of militia were ready to follow him, and his frankness, liberality, and kindly

¹ Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, *sub voce* Hampden.

² See the first part of Fairfax's *Memoirs*.

³ Lord Kimbolton, known also as Lord Mandeville, had borne the title of Lord Manchester since the death of his father, which occurred on the 9th of November, 1642.

disposition had endeared him to all the inhabitants of the surrounding country. In the same counties, Colonel Cromwell, already famous for many gallant exploits, as skilful in their arrangement as they were successful in their issue, exercised over many men of bold spirit, earnest piety, and easy fortune, an influence which already gave evidence of great genius and great power. Finally, in the south and west, the rout of numerous royalist bands, and the capture of seven towns in three months,¹ had won for Sir William Waller the surname of William the Conqueror.² The Parliament, it was said, was therefore not deficient either in generals or in armies; and if Lord Essex refused to conquer, it would be easy to find him a successor.

These threats and complaints, notwithstanding their bitterness and frequency, were followed by no definite proposition, no public suggestion. Essex was not a mere officer in the service of a discontented party; around him rallied not only all the noblemen who were engaged in the war, but the moderate men who were desirous of peace, and the more clear-sighted Presbyterians, who were already apprehensive of the designs of bolder sectaries. Hampden himself, and the leaders of the political party, while pressing the earl to act with greater vigour, had no intention of separating from him. Their dissensions, therefore, were not openly manifested; but though hidden, the

¹ Chichester, Chepstow, Winchester, Malmesbury, Tewkesbury, Hereford, and Monmouth.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 114.

discord already possessed the mastery, and it was not long before Essex was made to feel its effects. Those who were obliged to treat him with outward respect, secretly used every effort to injure him; and his defenders, thinking they had done enough in supporting him when attacked, took but little pains to render him further assistance. Before a month had elapsed, he had to complain of the bad state of his army; pay, provisions, and clothing, all were wanting; suffering and sickness decimated his soldiers, who not long before had been so abundantly cared for by the City. He made his wants known to the various committees which had been appointed to supply them; but his opponents, far more active and energetic than his friends, exercised the chief influence in those bodies; their untiring zeal had obtained for them the chief offices in the executive government, and the subordinate agents were nearly all of their selection. All the general's appeals were in vain.¹ The second campaign had but just commenced: there seemed to have been no change in the state of affairs; but already that party which had deprived the King of his sovereign power felt it escaping from their hands; already a new party, though still obliged to conceal its true character, had gained power enough to reduce the great army of the Parliament to impotence, and had enough enthusiastic confidence to risk all by giving this advantage to the common enemy.

Already also, under the sway of similar passions, a

¹ May's History of the Long Parliament, pp. 276, 279, 294, 295; Memoirs of Denzil Hollis, p. 9.

new army was silently in process of formation. In those slight skirmishes which, notwithstanding the delays and negotiations between Oxford and London, were of almost daily occurrence in other parts of the country, the Parliamentarians, since the action at Brentford, had frequently suffered defeat. The royal cavalry, more especially, filled the Parliamentary troops with dread, and the cavalry were still, as in feudal times, the most efficient and respected force. Hampden and Cromwell were conversing one day on this inferiority of their troops: "How can it be otherwise?" said Cromwell; "our troops are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them? Take it not ill what I say—I know you will not—you must get men of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure we shall be beaten still." "Your notion is a good one," said Hampden, "but it is impracticable." "I can do somewhat in it," replied Cromwell; "I will raise such men as have the fear of God before them, and make some conscience of what they do; and I warrant you they will not be beaten." He accordingly went through the eastern counties, recruiting young men, most of whom were already known to him, and he to them; all freeholders, or the

¹ Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 307, 308; Somers Tracts, vol. vi. p. 369.

sons of freeholders, to whom pay was not an object, or mere idleness a pleasure; all stern and bold fanatics, who engaged in the war from conscientious motives, and served under Cromwell because they had confidence in him. "I will not cozen you," he told them, "by perplexed expressions in my commission about fighting for King and Parliament. If the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy, I would as soon discharge my pistol upon him as upon any private man; and if your consciences will not let you do the like, I advise you not to enlist yourselves under me."¹ Few hesitated to accept these conditions; and no sooner were they enrolled, than all the comforts of domestic life, and all the licence of military life, were alike forbidden them: they were subjected to the strictest discipline, and required to tend their own horses and clean their own arms: they often slept in the open air, and they passed almost without any interval of relaxation from their military duties to the exercises of religion; for their leader was determined that they should be as devoted to their profession as to their cause, and that they should combine the rigid punctuality of the soldier with the free energy of fanaticism.² When the campaign reopened, fourteen squadrons of such volunteers, forming a body of about a thousand men, marched under the command of Cromwell.³

A month passed almost without any incident. The capture of Reading, though held of little account in

¹ Noble's *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 271.

² Whitelocke, p. 72; *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, May 30, 1648; Bates, *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum*, part ii. p. 220.

³ May's *History of the Long Parliament*, p. 319.

London, had thrown Oxford into consternation, and the King, far from determining to act, was deliberating whether he should not take to flight. The Parliament, embarrassed by its own dissensions, paid more attention to them than to its enemies. At one time, it endeavoured to give some satisfaction to all its adherents, both violent and moderate, politicians or pietists; at another time, decisive resolutions, carried with great difficulty by one party, were left without effect, and seemed to be abandoned by common consent. The Presbyterians had long demanded, and had long been promised, that an Assembly of Divines should be held for the purpose of reforming the Church. This Assembly was convoked by resolution of Parliament, on the 12th of June, 1643, and held its first meeting on the 1st of July following; but the Parliament itself appointed the hundred and twenty-one members of whom it was composed: thirty laymen, ten of whom were Lords, and twenty members of the House of Commons, were associated with them, with the honours of precedence; theologians of the most various opinions were summoned; and the sole purpose of the Assembly, which was destitute alike of authority and independence, seemed to be to give its opinion on such questions as one or both of the Houses of Parliament might think proper to submit to its consideration.¹ An impeachment of high treason was brought against the Queen, and no one raised his voice to oppose it; but after Pym had carried it to the Upper House, on the

¹ Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 43.

23rd of May, nothing more was heard of it.¹ The absence of the Great Seal daily impeded the administration of justice, and many matters of public and private business. To put an end to this inconvenience, and with a view more especially to appropriate the legal attributes of sovereignty, the Commons, about the middle of May, ordered that a new Great Seal should be prepared; but the Lords rejected the proposal, as they were more fearful of usurping the symbols of sovereign power, than of exercising it without that sanction, and the Commons deemed it prudent to postpone the execution of their project.² Sometimes the various parties, voting together with different views, combined in a deceptive and barren unanimity; more frequently, as their strength was almost equal, they reduced one another to impotence, and seemed to be waiting until some external occurrence should either force them to unite, or separate them irrevocably.

The 31st of May was a day of fasting, and both Houses were attending divine service in St. Margaret's church at Westminster, when a note was brought to Mr. Pym, who rose immediately; and, after a very animated but whispered conversation with those around him, without waiting for the conclusion of the service, he left the church hastily with his principal colleagues, leaving the rest of the congregation in a state of agitation commensurate with their ignorance and curiosity.³

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 321.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 115, 117; May's History of the Long Parliament, pp. 288—291.

³ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 66.

As soon as the sermon was over, the Houses met, and the public learned that a great conspiracy had just been discovered ; several Lords, it was affirmed, several members of the House of Commons, and a great many eminent citizens, were involved in it. They intended to arm the Royalists, to seize upon the Tower, the arsenals, and the principal military posts, to arrest the leaders of both Houses, and to introduce the King's troops into London. That very day, the 31st of May, had been appointed for the execution of the plot. The whole matter, however, would speedily be cleared up, for a committee of inquiry had been nominated, and several persons had already been arrested by its order.¹

These rumours were correct : during the night, and on the following day, Edmund Waller,² a member of the House of Commons, and a poet of some celebrity ; Mr. Tompkins, his brother-in-law, who had formerly been connected with the Queen's household ; Mr. Challoner, a wealthy citizen, and several others, were arrested and examined. All confessed, with more or less detail, that a plot was really on foot, though all the conspirators were not aware of its full extent and design. Some had merely contemplated refusing to pay taxes, in order to compel the Parliament to make peace ; others proposed to present large numbers of petitions in favour of peace to both Houses simultaneously ; others had only attended meetings, or assisted in the preparation of certain lists on which the names

¹ State Trials, vol. iv. col. 637 ; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 67.

² Edmund Waller was born at Coleshill, in Hertfordshire, on the 3rd of May, 1605, and died on the 21st of October, 1687.

of all known citizens were inscribed, under three heads—*right men*, or those of the King's party; *averse men*, or those well affected to the Parliament; and *moderate men*, or neutrals. But though the actions of the conspirators were of such unequal importance, and their motives of such different character, the plot, which had long been formed, daily became more serious. It was then remembered that, three months previously, in one of those negotiations which had been so frequently attempted and abandoned, Waller had been one of the commissioners sent to Oxford, and that, on the day of their presentation, though he was the lowest in rank, the King had received him with particular condescension, and had said to him, "Though you are the last, yet you are not the worst, nor the least in my favour."¹ Ever since that period constant correspondence had been maintained with Oxford; royalist merchants—Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir George Benyon, and others—who had fled from London to escape prosecution by the House, were the principal agents in the business; a person named Hall secretly resided at Beaconsfield for the purpose of forwarding messages; and Lady Aubigny, whom the Parliament had permitted to visit Oxford on business, had brought back with her, in a small box, a commission from the King, authorizing some of the conspirators to raise men and money in his name. Information had very recently been sent to Hall, "that the great ship was come into the Downs;" in other words, that all was ready; and he had communicated the intelligence to Lord Falkland, who had

¹ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 87.

replied, "that they should hasten it with all speed, for delays made the war more difficult to be restrained."¹

This was more than party justice required, and the Parliament, if it had pleased, might have had further proof. Moved by a craven desire to save his life, Waller implored permission to ransom it, no matter at what price; money, confessions, and denunciations he lavished profusely; addressing himself to the obscurest as well as to the most powerful for protection, beseeching every influential fanatic to come and hear the humble confession of his repentance, and as ready now to exaggerate the gravity of the plot, as he had probably been at Oxford to extol the numbers and strength of the conspirators. The Lords Portland and Conway had received some confidential communications from him. He denounced them; and the Earl of Northumberland and many others were also compromised by his revelations.² Although few persons had gone so far as to commit any legally criminal action, many had known and approved of what was in contemplation. But the Parliament, with courageous wisdom, refused to take advantage of the imprudence of their enemies, or of the baseness of their accomplice; and prudently considered that strict justice would be sufficient to secure their safety. Seven persons only were brought before a court-martial for trial; and though five were condemned to death, Challoner and Tompkins alone suffered their sentence. They were executed on

¹ State Trials, vol. iv. cols. 626—631; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. pp. 68—76.

² May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 286; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 68.

the 5th of July, 1643, and died like brave men, without either believing or affecting to be martyrs, but expressing, with touching sincerity, some uncertainty as to the goodness of their cause. "My prayer to God was," said Challoner on the scaffold, "that if this design might not be honourable to Him, it might be known. God hath heard me, and it is discovered." "I am glad," said Tompkins, "this foolish business hath been discovered, because it might have occasioned very ill consequences." As for Waller, though he also had been condemned, his life was spared in recompense for his avowals, at the instance of some of his relations, his cousin Cromwell among others; and perhaps, also, from the lingering respect which is felt for genius, even when it only serves to render cowardice more glaring.¹

For a few days the leaders of the Commons had hoped that the discovery and punishment of this plot would throw Oxford into consternation, intimidate the Royalists in London, put an end to dissensions in the Parliament, and liberate their party at length from those difficulties and embarrassments in which it was fruitlessly wasting its energy. But these hopes were soon deceived; the sounds of thanksgiving had scarcely ceased in the churches, the new oath of union which had been resolved upon in the moment of danger had no sooner been taken, than the Parliament found itself exposed to greater reverses without, and more violent debates within its own body.

The King had learned the failure of the plot in the

¹ State Trials, vol. iv. cols. 632—638; May's History of the Long Parliament, pp. 283—286.

city with no great concern ; almost at the same moment he had received intelligence that, in the south, the west, and the north, his generals had won important advantages ; and he much preferred to owe his triumph to the Cavaliers and to war, than to a secret accommodation with citizens who had recently opposed all his wishes. On the 19th of June, however, an unexpected occurrence directed his thoughts once more to London and the Parliament. The report spread that, on the previous evening, at Chalgrove Field, some miles from Oxford, in a cavalry action in which Prince Rupert had surprised and defeated the Parliamentarians, Hampden had been wounded. "I saw him," said one of the prisoners, "ride off the field before the action was done, which he never used to do ; and with his head hanging down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his horse ; by which I concluded he was hurt." The news created great excitement in Oxford, but the feeling was rather of curiosity than of joy ; it was difficult to believe that so great a man could be so near falling by so unexpected a blow ; and the Cavaliers almost hesitated to rejoice. The King himself, at first, thought only of seizing this opportunity for attempting to conciliate, if possible, so powerful an adversary, in the hope of obtaining a pacific settlement by his means ; for although Hampden had done him so much harm, he believed him fully capable of repairing the past. Dr. Giles, a country neighbour of Hampden, who still continued on friendly terms with him, was at that time at Oxford. "Send to him," said the King, "to

inquire how he is, as if from yourself, and if he has no surgeon, I will send him my own." The doctor hesitated to undertake this commission, "for," said he, "I have seemed unlucky to him in several conjunctures of time, when I made addresses to him in my own behalf. Before I came to Oxford, my waggons were robbed and plundered, and I addressed him for relief, and my messenger came in that very instant in which the news of his eldest son's death came to him. And some good time after, falling into a like calamity, I sent to him again; but my messenger met there with another, that brought the news of his beloved daughter Mrs. Knightley's death; so I seemed to screech-owl him." The doctor, nevertheless, fulfilled the King's commission. But on the arrival of his messenger, on the 24th of June, Hampden was almost lifeless: his shoulder had been shattered by two balls, and for six days he had been suffering the most excruciating agonies. He was, however, informed who it was that had sent to inquire about him, and the object of the inquiry was also intimated to him. A strong agitation convulsed his frame; he seemed about to speak, but his strength failed him, and he died a few moments after. As soon as he was assured of his death, Charles was far more delighted than he would have been to know that he was disposed to promote an accommodation; and Hampden was never again mentioned at the Court of Oxford, except to recall his offences, or to remark with an air of triumph that he had been slain in the very county, and near the very place, where he had been the first to carry out the

ordinance of the Parliament with regard to the militia, and to levy troops against the King.¹

In London, on the other hand, and throughout the country generally, the deepest grief was felt at his loss. Never had any man inspired a nation with so much confidence; all who belonged to the national party, no matter to what extent or from what motives, relied on Hampden for the attainment of their object; the most moderate had faith in his wisdom, the most violent in his devoted patriotism, the most honest in his uprightness, and the most intriguing in his consummate ability. Prudent and reserved at the same time that he was ready to brave all dangers, he had hitherto been the cause of no failure, he possessed the affection of all, and his premature death dashed all hopes. This wonderful good fortune has fixed his name for ever on the height to which the admiration of his contemporaries had raised it, and may perhaps have saved his virtue and renown from those quicksands on which revolutions so often wreck their worthiest favourites.

His death seemed a presage of disaster to the Parliament; for more than two months it suffered a succession of defeats, which daily aggravated the still hidden evils of which these continual reverses were the consequence. The enemies of Essex, while neglecting to supply the wants of his army, had reckoned, but mistakenly, on the success of his rivals. While the Commander-in-chief and his Council of War were vainly sending messenger after messenger to demand

¹ Warwick's Memoirs, pp. 241, 242; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. pp. 87—95.

money, clothes, ammunition and arms,¹ news arrived that, on the 30th of June, Fairfax had been defeated at Atherton Moor, in the north of England;² that Sir John Hotham was on the point of surrendering Hull to the Queen; that Lord Willoughby was no longer able to defend Lincolnshire against Lord Newcastle; and that the association of the eastern counties, that bulwark of the Parliament, would be thus thrown open to the enemy. Matters were in a still worse condition in the south-west; in one week, Sir William Waller had lost two battles;³ the peasants of Cornwall, hardy descendants of the ancient Britons, defeated the Parliamentary recruits in every engagement; at Lansdowne, after having modestly requested permission, they ran to attack a battery which had been considered impregnable; and a fortnight afterwards, under the walls of Bristol, they mounted the breach with equal intrepidity.⁴ In Cornwall, the land had not changed hands; the same families of gentlemen had lived there for centuries, surrounded by the same families of farmers and labourers; they were a people of pious and simple character, ignorant of the new ideas which were stirring society, and obedient, though with no slavish fear, to the influence of the nobility; and they felt for their hereditary lords and time-honoured customs the same enthusiasm which the most zealous Parliamentarians entertained for their opinions and rights.⁵

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 144, 155.

² Fairfax's Memoirs, p. 36.

³ At Lansdowne, in Somersetshire, on the 5th of July, 1643, and at Roundway Down, in Wiltshire, on the 13th of July.

⁴ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 144.

⁵ Sir Edward Walker's Discourses, p. 50.

Moreover, in that and the adjacent counties, were some of the King's most judicious friends ; the Marquis of Hertford, brother-in-law of Essex, who had long lived in retirement on his estates, from disgust with the Court ; Sir Bevil Greenville, the most popular of the Cornish gentlemen, who were all popular ; and Sir Ralph Hopton, a good man and valiant officer, who asked no favours of Oxford, sternly repressed pillage, protected the inhabitants wherever he went, and, as he believed he was discharging the duty of a faithful subject, acted with the humanity of a good citizen. The merit of these generals, and the bravery of their soldiers, threw Waller and his troops into discredit and alarm ; he soon became unable to maintain any discipline in his army, and his men deserted in whole companies. Even the Commissioners, whom the Parliament had sent to arouse the zeal of the people, allowed themselves to be overcome by the same apprehensions, and communicated their terror to all around them. The magistrates of Dorchester requested Mr. Strode " to view their works and fortifications, and to give his judgment of them ;" and after the survey, he told them, " Those works might keep out the Cavaliers about half an hour ; but that the King's soldiers made nothing of running up walls twenty feet high."¹ Dorchester accordingly surrendered at the first summons ; and during the same month of August, 1643, Weymouth, Portland, Barnstaple, and Bideford followed its example. Taunton, Bridgewater, and Bath had already done the same in July ; and Bristol, the second

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 212.

town in the kingdom, yielded to the first assault, on the 26th of July, in consequence of the cowardice of its governor, Nathaniel Fiennes, one of the leaders of the most violent party.¹ Every day brought to London the news of some reverse; whilst at Oxford, on the other hand, the strength of the Royalists increased with their confidence. The Queen had at length rejoined her husband, bringing with her three thousand men and a train of artillery;² their first interview took place in the vale of Keynton, on the very ground on which, during the previous year, the two parties had fought their first battle; and on the same day, the 13th of July, almost at the same hour, Wilmot and Hopton gained a brilliant victory over the Parliamentarians at Roundway Down in Wiltshire.³ Charles and his wife returned to Oxford in triumph; and Waller, who, on his way to the army, had enjoined the constables of the towns through which he passed to hold themselves in readiness to receive his prisoners, returned to London without soldiers.⁴

Essex, still inactive, and imputing his inactivity to those who blamed him for it, took no share in these defeats, and made no effort to prevent them. At length, on the 9th of July, he wrote to the House of Lords: "If it were thought fit to send to his Majesty to have peace, with the settling of religion, the laws

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 284; *State Trials*, vol. iv. pp. 186—293; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. p. 145.

² Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 274.

³ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. pp. 134, 135; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 285.

⁴ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. p. 189.

and liberties of the subjects, and bringing to just trial those chief delinquents that have brought all this mischief to both kingdoms; or else, if his Majesty shall please to absent himself, there may be a day set down to give a period to all these unhappy distractions by a battle; I shall be ready to perform that duty I owe you, that, if peace be not concluded, the war may be ended by the sword."¹ Some days earlier this letter might, perhaps, have been well received. At the news of the first reverses, the Lords had made a solemn protestation of their fidelity to the King, and had prepared new propositions of peace:² the Commons, on the contrary, in more irritation than discouragement, had required the Upper House finally to adopt their resolution with regard to the Great Seal; and on their refusal to do so, they had, on their own sole authority, ordered one to be engraved, bearing the arms of England on one side, and on the other a representation of the House of Commons sitting at Westminster, without any indication whatever of the Lords.³ While the relations between the two Houses were thus unfriendly, the Lords would doubtless have fallen in with the peaceful views of their General. But about the same period, on the 20th of June, the King, emboldened by his first successes, officially declared that the persons assembled at Westminster no longer formed two real Houses of Parliament; that the secession of so many of their members, and the absence of liberty in their

¹ Journals of the House of Lords, July 11, 1643; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 290; Whitelocke, p. 70.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 132.

³ Whitelocke, p. 70; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 143.

debates, had deprived them of all legal existence ; that for the future he did not intend to give them the name of Parliament ; and, finally, that he forbade all his subjects to render obedience to so traitorous and seditious an assembly.¹ So general and violent a condemnation at once restored union between the two Houses. On the 5th of July, they voted in concert that Commissioners should be sent to request their brethren the Scots to send an army to the assistance of the Protestants of England, who were in danger of falling under the yoke of the Papists ;² and when Essex's letter reached the Lords, they resolved that they would address no petition or proposals for peace to the King, until he should have revoked his proclamation declaring that the two Houses no longer formed a free and legal Parliament.³

Essex did not insist : he was both honest and sincere, and in advising peace he believed he was doing his duty ; but he felt great respect for the Parliament ; and when he had given his opinion, so far from assuming to dictate to it, he was quite ready to obey its orders. For a few days, perfect harmony appeared to prevail between all parties in London ; all combined to give proof of their esteem for Essex ; and he was immediately supplied with ammunition and reinforcements.⁴ At the same time Waller, notwithstanding the disasters of his last campaign, was thanked for his courage, and treated with honour, as a man who might

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 331.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 144.

³ Journals of the House of Lords, July 11, 1643.

⁴ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 144.

still do good service.¹ On the 22nd of July, it was ordered that a new army should be raised in the eastern counties, under the command of Lord Manchester, with Cromwell for his lieutenant-general.² The Commons, who had received timely warning of his intentions, had ordered Hotham's arrest in Hull, before he could surrender the town to the King, and he now lay in the Tower, awaiting his sentence.³ Lord Fairfax was appointed to succeed him.⁴ The Commissioners to be sent to Scotland were named, two by the Lords and four by the Commons,⁵ and strongly urged to expedite their departure. Most of the members of the Assembly of Divines also left London, that each, in his own parish, might calm the anxieties of the people, and stimulate them to renewed exertions.⁶ Every day, in one or other of the City churches, in the presence of a multitude of mothers, children and sisters, a special service was held to implore the Divine protection on all who had devoted themselves to the defence of their country and its laws;⁷ and every morning, at beat of drum, crowds of persons, men and women, rich and

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 189.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 156; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 190. This army was to consist of ten thousand men.

³ He was arrested on the 29th of June, 1643.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 275—277; Whitelocke, p. 71.

⁴ On the 3rd of July, 1643.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 280.

⁵ They were the Lords Rutland and Grey of Wark, Sir William Armyn, Sir Harry Vane, Mr. Hatcher, and Mr. Darley.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 466.

⁶ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 148; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 193.

⁷ Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 506.

poor, came out to labour at the fortifications.¹ Never had so much energy been displayed with such prudence and unanimity, both in the Houses and among the people.

But the danger still increased ; the King continued to gain successes on every hand. Notwithstanding the public enthusiasm, several persons refused to run greater risks than they had already incurred for the Parliament. Lord Grey of Wark, one of the Commissioners appointed by the Upper House to proceed into Scotland, declined the mission, and the Lords sent him to the Tower ; the Earl of Rutland, who was to have accompanied him, also excused himself, on the ground of ill health.² The Commissioners of the Commons were forced to set out alone ; and they had to go by sea, as the roads in the north were not safe, and Fairfax was not strong enough to give them an escort. They were twenty days on the voyage.³ In the mean time the King, yielding to better advice, published a more conciliatory proclamation. With the hope, returned the desire for peace. On the 4th of August, on the motion of the Earl of Northumberland, the Lords adopted a series of propositions to the King, of a more moderate character than any that had been previously suggested : they required that both armies should be immediately disbanded, restored to their seats those members of Parliament who had been expelled for

¹ May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 254.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 148—150.

³ They left London on the 20th of July, and did not reach Edinburgh until the 9th of August following.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 466.

having joined the King, and left all questions relating to the militia and the Church to be decided in future, the latter by a Synod, and the former by Parliament. On the following day, they communicated these resolutions to the Commons, and declared, in somewhat imperious language, that it was time to put an end to the calamities of the country.¹ Surprised by this sudden attack, the war party vainly insisted on the danger of thus losing the fruit of the efforts and evils they had already undergone, in order to obtain a few months' respite. In vain did they demand that the negotiation should at least be postponed until an answer was received from Scotland. "We have been punished for breaking off the treaty of Oxford," replied their opponents. "Though the common and meaner sort of people in the city of London may desire the continuance of the distractions, yet it is evident the most substantial and rich men desire peace, by their refusal to supply money for carrying on the war. In any case, the sending reasonable propositions to the King will either procure a peace, and so we shall have no more need of an army; or, being refused, will raise more men and money than all our ordinances without it." It was resolved, by ninety-four votes against sixty-five, that

¹ In the conference which took place between the two Houses on this subject, on the 5th of August, 1643, the Speaker of the Upper House began in these words: "Gentlemen, the Lords believe it too visible to the understanding of all persons that this kingdom, with all those blessings of plenty and abundance, the fruits of our long and happy peace, must be forthwith turned into that desolation and famine which accompany a civil war, and that those hands and hearts that should prosper this land, do now endanger it by unnatural divisions."—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 156.

the propositions of the Lords should be taken into consideration.¹

The war party were in great consternation : peace, when thus sought after in the midst of reverses, was not a compromise but a defeat ; it left all public and private interests exposed to the utmost danger, and frustrated the hopes of the patriots who desired a greater extension of reform, as well as thwarted the plans of the ambitious men who longed for a revolution. It was resolved to use every effort to defeat the measure. On the evening of the 6th of August, although it was Sunday, the Lord Mayor Pennington, whom the King's proclamations had excluded from all amnesty, convoked the Common Council of the City ; and on the following day, a menacing petition required the Commons to reject the propositions of the Lords, and to adopt in their stead a resolution, a draft of which Alderman Atkins, the bearer of the petition, presented at the same time.² An immense mob, informed of what was in progress by small pamphlets, which had been distributed on the previous evening in all quarters, came to support this demand by their clamour. On arriving at Westminster through the crowd, the Lords at once complained to the Commons of their conduct, declaring that they would adjourn to the next day, and then adjourn again, unless such outrages were punished. But the Commons had already resumed the discussion of the proposals for peace : after

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 186 ; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 156—158.

² Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 336. See Appendix II.

a long debate, eighty-one votes again decided on adopting them, and seventy-nine only were given for their rejection. The tumult was now at its height; the mob declared they would not go home without a satisfactory answer; the opponents of peace in the House vehemently demanded another division, maintaining that there had been some mistake, and that they would not be thus trifled with. Their demand was acceded to, the House again divided; eighty-one members persisted in voting for peace, but the tellers for the noes declared their own numbers to be eighty-eight; the Speaker immediately announced this result, and the advocates of peace left the House in surprise and consternation.¹

Two days after, on the 9th of August, they attempted to take their revenge. A crowd of two or three thousand women collected, early in the morning, around Westminster Hall, wearing white ribbons emblematical of peace in their caps, and sent in a doleful petition in support of their views.² Sir John Hippisley came out and told them, "That the House were no way enemies to peace, and that they did not doubt, in a short time, to answer the ends of their petition; meanwhile he desired them to return to their habitations." The women remained: at noon their numbers amounted to more than five thousand; some men in women's clothing mingled in their ranks, and at their instigation, a great many proceeded to the very doors

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 158—160; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 188.

² See Appendix III.

of the House of Commons, shouting "Peace! peace!" The guard, a small body of militia, advised them to withdraw, but their shouts only increased in violence: "Give us those traitors that are against peace, that we may tear them in pieces! give us that dog Pym!" They were forced to retreat to the bottom of the stairs, and a few shots were fired in the air to intimidate them. "Nothing but powder!" they said derisively, and began to pelt the guard with stones. The men then fired in among them: a squadron of cavalry arrived at the same time, and charged the crowd, sword in hand; for a moment the women held their ground, making room for the horsemen to pass, and assailing them with blows and imprecations. They were at length obliged to fly, and after a few minutes of fearful tumult, there remained at Westminster only seven or eight women wounded and weeping, and two lying dead. One of these, well known to the people, had from her childhood been a ballad-singer in the streets of London.¹

The victory was complete, but it had been dearly bought; fraud and violence had been employed—means which reflect discredit on their own success, especially when reform is sought in the name of the laws, and professes to restore them to vigorous operation. It was already a common saying that the Parliament had, in its turn, committed every offence with which it charged the King. The Upper House was irritated; the blood of the people had been shed; in-

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 357; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. p. 189.

testine animosities were beginning to surmount all other feelings. The leaders of the Commons were informed that a certain number of members, under the guidance of the principal lords, intended to leave London and take refuge in the camp of Essex, there to proclaim that they had withdrawn from a Parliament which was under subjection to mob-rule, and to open negotiations with Oxford. This project failed in consequence of the honesty of Essex, who refused to engage in it; and it was a great consolation to the national party to know that their general had no thought of betraying them.¹ But the Lords Portland, Lovelace, Conway, Clare, Bedford, and Holland, left London and joined the King; the Earl of Northumberland retired to his residence at Petworth;² and the Parliament was thus deprived of many illustrious names which, though they did not constitute its chief strength, had served to protect and adorn its cause. Astonished at finding themselves alone, some of the untitled leaders began to feel apprehensive; and on the 9th of September, Pym himself was accused of correspondence with the enemy.³ On the other hand, the more violent demagogues and the more impetuous sectaries now began to manifest their secret opinions. John Saltmarsh, who afterwards became a chaplain in Fairfax's army, publicly maintained: "That all means should be used to keep the King and his people from a sudden union; and if the King would not grant

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 207.

² Ibid., vol. iv. p. 193.

³ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 165.

their demands, then to root him out, and the royal line, and to collate the crown upon somebody else." The pamphlet was excepted against in the House of Commons, but Henry Martyn undertook its defence. "I see no reason," he said, "to condemn Mr. Saltmarsh; it were better one family should be destroyed than many." Sir Nevil Poole moved that Mr. Martyn might explain what family he meant. "The King and his children," replied Martyn, unhesitatingly;¹ but such violent language was then unprecedented, and his party, though approving, were utterly unable to support him. No news had yet arrived from Scotland; it was even uncertain whether the Commissioners had landed; and day after day the Parliament feared to learn that the King was marching on London, or that he had laid siege to Gloucester, the last town which remained faithful to the Parliament in the west of England, and the only obstacle which, by intercepting communications between the royal armies in the north-east and south-west of the kingdom, prevented them from acting everywhere in concert.²

Passion gave way in the presence of danger; the various parties took a sober view of their position. Neither of them was strong enough to crush its adversary at once, and remain in a position to carry on war or make peace with advantage afterwards. Instead, therefore, of seeking safety, the moderate in weakness, and the fanatics in frenzied enthusiasm, the former felt that before treating they must conquer, and the latter that, in order to gain the victory, they must

¹ Whitelocke, p. 71.

² Ibid., p. 72.

serve, and their rivals must command. All distrust was temporarily laid aside, and all ambition postponed. A committee, which included some of the most earnest advocates of war,¹ waited on Lord Essex, on the 4th of August, informed him of the measures which had just been taken for recruiting and provisioning his army, inquired whether he needed any further supplies, and in a word, placed the fate of the country in his hands, with every assurance of the full confidence of the Parliament in his wisdom and integrity.² The earl and his friends, on their side, now entered into the war with as much energy as if they had never had any other desire.³ Hollis, who had applied for passports, that he might retire to the Continent with his family, withdrew his application and remained in England; in every quarter, the men who had lately been accused of cowardice or treason, were now foremost in making preparations, efforts, and sacrifices; and their fiery opponents, having learned a lesson of reserve and submission, gave them quiet but zealous assistance. They even offered scarce any resistance to the expulsion of Henry Martyn from the House, and his imprisonment in the Tower, for his violent and incendiary speeches;⁴ so firm was their resolve to sacrifice everything to that temporary unanimity of action, which was their only means of safety. Such wise conduct soon bore its fruit; whilst Waller and Manchester were forming

¹ St. John, Strode, and Carew, to whom Pym was added, after some opposition.

² Commons' Journals, vol. iii. p. 15; Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 191.

³ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 291.

⁴ August 16, 1643.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 161.

armies of reserve in their respective districts, the levies of men and money, and the supplies of all kinds, intended for the army of Essex, the only one which was able to enter the field at once, were raised with astonishing rapidity; four regiments of the London militia volunteered to serve under him; and on the 24th of August, after a grand review on Hounslow Heath, in presence of nearly all the members of both Houses of Parliament, the Earl set out at the head of fourteen thousand men, and hastened, by forced marches, to the relief of Gloucester, which the King, as had been feared, had closely blockaded for a fortnight previously.¹

It was with great regret that Charles, after his late victories, had given up the idea of making a more decisive attempt on London itself. He had fully resolved to do so, and had devised a plan which he thought could not fail of success. While the King advanced from west to east, Lord Newcastle, already victorious in Yorkshire, was to march from north to south, and the two great royalist armies were to meet beneath the walls of the capital. After the taking of Bristol, Charles hastened to send Sir Philip Warwick, one of his most faithful servants, to Lord Newcastle, to acquaint him with this design, and request him to begin his march. But the noblemen attached to the King's party were not generals to whom he could give orders as he pleased; they had received from him their commission, not their power; and resting satisfied with maintaining his cause in the localities where their in-

¹ May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 339; Memoirs of Hollis, p. 22.

fluence prevailed, they were by no means willing to lose both their independence and their means of success, by changing their quarters. Newcastle was haughty and magnificent in his tastes, fond of pomp and ease, and indisposed to endure fatigue or brook contradiction; he had surrounded himself by a little court, to which the elegance of his mind and manners attracted men of similar disposition; and he was unwilling either to become lost in the crowd of courtiers at Oxford, or to take a lower rank in the King's army than a rough foreigner like Prince Rupert. After listening with great coldness to the proposition brought by Warwick, he told him, "with great savour, the story of the Irish arch-rebel Tyrone, who, being taken prisoner by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, and brought to Queen Elizabeth, and perceiving the Deputy waiting in the Privy Chamber, among the nobility and gentry there, without any distinguishing character of the greatness he held in Ireland, thus vented himself to a countryman of his: "I am ashamed to have been taken a prisoner by yon great man, who now in a crowd makes himself so low and common as to be watching for a woman's coming out!" "For my part," added Newcastle, "so long as Hull remains in the hands of the enemy, I cannot leave Yorkshire."¹ Warwick communicated this answer to the King, who did not venture to resent it. Some of his friends still advised him to march on to London, and the Queen supported their recommendation; but Charles had little taste for hazardous enter-

¹ Warwick's Memoirs, p. 243; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 196.

prises, less, however, from any fear of danger, than from unwillingness to compromise his dignity; for already, during the previous year, after the battles of Edgehill and Brentford, when he had nearly reached the gates of his capital, his pride had been severely wounded at being compelled to retreat. Many good officers were of opinion that he should lay siege to Gloucester, some from disinterested motives, and others in the hope of rich booty; Colonel William Legge even boasted that he had a certain understanding with the governor, Edward Massey.¹ The King at length adopted this suggestion, and on the 10th of August, his army, which he commanded in person, occupied the heights that overlook the town, which was defended by a garrison of only fifteen hundred men, besides the inhabitants.

No sooner had he arrived, than he summoned them to surrender, giving them two hours to decide on their answer. Before that time had elapsed, two deputies from the town, Serjeant-Major Pudsey and a citizen, presented themselves in the royal camp; both were thin and pale, with hair closely cropped, and dressed entirely in black. "We have brought an answer," they said, "from the godly city of Gloucester to the King." On being brought into the royal presence, they read the following letter: "We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers and soldiers, within this garrison of Gloucester, unto his Majesty's gracious message return this humble answer: That we do keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the use of his Majesty and his royal posterity; and do ac-

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 176.

cordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his Majesty, signified by both Houses of Parliament; and are resolved, by God's help, to keep this city accordingly." On hearing this brief message read in a firm, dry, and clear tone, on noticing the singular appearance and attitude of the two deputies as they stood motionless before the King awaiting his answer, symptoms of astonishment, derision, and indignation began to be manifested by the surrounding courtiers; but Charles, with as much gravity as his enemies displayed, checked the movement with a gesture, and dismissed the deputies with a few words expressive of his wonder at their great confidence, "for," he said, "from what hope of relief can it proceed? Waller is extinct, and Essex cannot come." No sooner had they returned to the town, than the suburbs were set on fire by the inhabitants themselves, that they might have nothing to defend outside their walls.¹

For twenty-six days—from the 10th of August to the 5th of September, 1643—they defeated, by their unwearied valour, all the efforts of the besiegers: with the exception of a hundred and fifty men who were held in reserve, the entire garrison was always on duty; in all their labours, in all their dangers, the citizens took part with the soldiers, the women with their husbands, and the children with their mothers. Massey even made frequent sorties, and only three of his men took advantage of the opportunity to

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. pp. 177-180; May's *History of the Long Parliament*, pp. 334-336; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 286-294.

desert.¹ Enraged at so long a delay, which gained them neither repose nor distinction, the royal troops, in revenge, ruthlessly devastated the surrounding country; even the officers often employed their soldiers to capture some wealthy farmer or peaceable freeholder of the other party, whom they put to ransom for his liberty.² Insubordination within the camp, and popular hatred without it, daily increased. An assault might have been attempted; but the recent attack of Bristol had cost so dear that no one ventured to propose it. The King, at length, had given up all hope of success from any other cause than the extremities to which a blockade must sooner or later reduce the town, when he learned, to his great surprise, that Essex was approaching. Prince Rupert, detaching himself from the main army with a strong body of cavalry, made vain efforts to arrest his march; the Earl advanced without allowing himself to be diverted from his route, and drove his enemy before him. He was already within a few miles of the royal camp; already had the King's Cavaliers fallen back on the outposts of his infantry, when Charles, in the hope of still delaying the Earl, were it only for a single day, sent him a messenger with propositions of peace. "I have no commission to treat," replied Essex, "but to relieve Gloucester, which I am resolved to do, or to lose my life there."—"No propositions! no propositions!" shouted his

¹ May's History of the Long Parliament, p. 337; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 287—290; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 225.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 226.

soldiers, when they heard that a trumpeter had arrived from the enemy. Essex continued his march, and on the following day, the 5th of September, as he drew up his army on the Presbury hills, six miles from Gloucester, he perceived that the King's quarters were on fire, and knew that the siege was raised.¹

He hastened to enter the town, which he supplied with provisions of every kind, loaded the governor and his soldiers with the highest praises, congratulated the citizens on their courage, which, he said, had saved the Parliament by giving him time to come to their rescue; and received, in his turn, at church, under his windows, and as he passed through the streets, the warmest demonstrations of gratitude and thankfulness. After remaining two days at Gloucester, on the 10th of September, he set out once more for London, for his immediate mission was accomplished, and it was indispensable that he should return without loss of time to the Parliament, with the only army capable of protecting it.²

Everything seemed to promise that his return would be as successful as his expedition had been; during several days he had utterly misled his enemies as to his route; Cirencester, with its rich stores of provisions, had fallen into his hands; and his cavalry had in several skirmishes gloriously sustained the terrible charge of Prince Rupert's horse; when, on

¹ May's History of the Long Parliament, pp. 341—344; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. pp. 229, 230; Whitelocke, p. 72; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 292.

² May's History of the Long Parliament, pp. 344, 345.

approaching Newbury, on the 19th of September, he perceived that the enemy had outstripped him, that they occupied the town and the surrounding heights, that the road to London was barred against him, and that a battle alone could throw it open. The King in person was at the head of his army, in a most advantageous position, as he was easily able to draw upon the garrisons of Oxford and Wallingford for any supplies he might need. The country people were not favourable to the Parliamentarians, and carefully concealed their stores. Whatever might be the issue of a general action, it was unavoidable, not only in order to force a passage, but also to escape starvation.

Essex did not hesitate: at day-break the next morning, the 20th of September, 1643, placing himself at the head of his vanguard, he attacked the principal height, and dislodged the regiment which occupied it. The battle lasted until evening; all the troops engaged in it successively, and every position was stormed; and the victory was so valiantly disputed, that both parties, in their narratives of the action, took pride in praising their enemies. The Royalists fought in the hope of repairing a defeat which had interrupted the course of their triumphs; the Parliamentarians were animated by the desire not to lose, when so near their object, the fruits of a victory which had put an end to long previous reverses. The London militia especially distinguished themselves by prodigies of valour. Twice, after having broken the enemy's horse, Prince Rupert charged them, without making the least impression on their

serried ranks. The general officers, Essex, Skippon, Stapleton, and Merrick, exposed themselves like common soldiers; and even the domestics, workmen, and camp-followers rushed to the field of battle, and fought as well as the bravest officers. Night fell, but each army remained in its position. Essex had gained some ground, but the royalist troops still barred his passage, and he expected he would have to renew the fight on the next day, when, to his extreme surprise, the first rays of dawn showed him the enemy in full retreat, and the road clear. He hastened to take advantage of this opportunity, and pursued his march with no other obstruction than a few fruitless charges of Prince Rupert's cavalry; and two days after the battle, he halted at Reading, with his army free from all danger.¹

The violence of this engagement dispirited the Royalists, who, though not less brave, were far less determined than their opponents, and as ready to despair as to hope for success. Their losses, moreover, had been great, and such as most deeply affect the imagination of a King's supporters. More than twenty officers of mark had fallen, and among them were several men not less illustrious for merit than for rank; Lord Sunderland, scarcely twenty-three years of age, and lately married, but already dear to all the wise men and good Protestants of his party for his boldness in expressing his opinions;² Lord Carnarvon,

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 293, 294; May's History of the Long Parliament, pp. 345—353; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. pp. 235—237; Whitelocke, pp. 73, 74; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 29.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 239.

an excellent officer, valued by the King for the strict discipline he maintained, beloved by the soldiers for his impartiality, and so scrupulous an observer of his promise that nothing would induce him to remain with the army in the west after Prince Maurice, its Commander-in-chief, had violated the capitulations he had made with Weymouth and Dorchester;¹ and finally, Lord Falkland,² the honour of the royalist party, still a patriot though proscribed in London, and still respected by the people though a minister at Oxford. There was nothing to call him to the battle field, and his friends had already more than once upbraided him with his reckless temerity: "but he would say merrily, that his office could not take away the privilege of his age, and that a secretary-at-war might be present at the greatest secret of danger." For some months, he had sought danger with passionate eagerness; the sufferings of the people, and the still greater calamities which he foresaw, the anxiety of his mind, the destruction of his hopes, and the constant disquietude of his soul while he remained among a party whose successes and reverses he almost equally dreaded, had combined to plunge him in the bitterest melancholy; his temper was clouded; his naturally cheerful and vivacious imagination had become stern and gloomy; though inclined by taste and habit to more than usual elegance of dress, he had ceased to pay any attention either to his person or clothing; he

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. pp. 239, 240.

² Lord Falkland was born at Burford, in Oxfordshire, in 1610; he was therefore only thirty-three years of age at his death.

no longer took delight in either conversation or employment; and frequently, while he sat, with his head in his hands, after deep silence and frequent sighs, he would, with a sad accent, reiterate the word *Peace*. The hope of some negotiation could alone rekindle his animation. On the morning of the battle, his friends were surprised to find him more gay than usual; and he seemed to have bestowed extraordinary attention on his dress: "being asked the reason of it, he answered that, if he were slain, they should not find his body in foul linen." He was entreated not to expose himself; but his features became more than ordinarily expressive of sadness. "I am weary of the times," he said, "and foresee much misery to my country, but I believe I shall be out of it ere night." He then joined Lord Byron's regiment as a volunteer. The action had scarcely commenced, when he was shot in the lower part of the stomach; he fell from his horse, and died before any one had noticed his fall—the victim of times too rough and rude for his pure and delicate virtue. His body was not found until the next day; his friends, and particularly Hyde, cherished his memory with inconsolable affection; the courtiers learned with no great emotion the death of a man who had kept constantly aloof from them; Charles manifested some decent regret, and felt more at ease in his council.¹

Soon after Essex arrived at Reading, on the 24th of September, a deputation from both Houses came to

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. pp. 240—257; Whitelocke, pp. 73, 74.

assure him of their gratitude, to provide for the wants of his army, and to inquire his wishes.¹ Not only was the Parliament saved from immediate peril, but it might thenceforward consider itself secure from similar dangers. The same success had crowned its negotiations and its arms: whilst Essex was raising the siege of Gloucester, Vane had reached Edinburgh, and concluded a close alliance with the Scots. Under the name of a "Solemn League and Covenant," a political and religious treaty, which devoted the united forces of both kingdoms to the defence of the same cause, had been adopted, on the 17th of August, by the Legislature and by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland;² on the following day, Scottish Commissioners set out for London, where both Houses, after having consulted the Assembly of Divines, also adopted the Covenant;³ and a week after, on the 25th of September, 1643, in St. Margaret's church at Westminster, standing uncovered and raising their hands to heaven, solemnly swore and subscribed an oath to observe it.⁴ The Covenant was received in the City with the most fervent enthusiasm; it promised the reformation of the Church, and the speedy assistance of twenty-one thousand Scots; and thus the Presbyterians found their fears dispelled at the same

¹ Commons' Journals, vol. iii. p. 636; Whitelocke, p. 74.

² Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, p. 239; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. pp. 56—62; Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 381.

³ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 169.

⁴ Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 62; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 173; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 474—481. The Covenant was signed by two hundred and twenty-eight members of the House of Commons.

time that their wishes were fulfilled. On the day after the ceremony, Essex made his entrance into London; the House of Commons, headed by the Speaker, went in a body to Essex House to congratulate him; the Lord Mayor and aldermen, in their scarlet robes, also waited on him, and complimented him "as the protector and defender of their lives and fortunes, and of their wives and children."¹ The standards captured from the royal army were exposed to public view; and one of them was particularly noticed, which represented the exterior of the House of Commons, with the heads of two traitors standing on the top of it, and this inscription: *Ut extra, sic intra.*² The people crowded to view these trophies; the militia, who had taken part in the expedition, gave ample details of the battle; and everywhere, in domestic conversations, in religious services, and among the groups which collected in the streets, the name of Essex was either loudly applauded or piously blessed. The Earl and his friends resolved to take advantage of his triumph. He proceeded to the House of Lords on the 7th of October, tendered his resignation, and requested permission to retire to the Continent. No public danger, he said, rendered it his duty to remain any longer in England; he had already endured most bitter annoyances in his command, and he foresaw they would speedily be renewed, for Sir William Waller still retained an independent commission; and thus, whilst

¹ Whitelocke, p. 74; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 257.

² Whitelocke, p. 75.

the title of General-in-chief devolved on him the entire responsibility, another had the right to refuse to pay him obedience; he had too long suffered the inconvenience of such a position, and he was resolved to subject himself to it no longer. Upon this declaration, the Lords, with real or feigned surprise, voted that they would demand a conference with the Commons; but, at that very moment, a message arrived from the Commons which rendered a conference unnecessary. Having been informed of the whole matter, they hastened to announce to the Lords, that Waller was willing to resign his commission, and to receive his instructions for the future from the General-in-chief, and not from the Parliament; and that he desired the appointment of a committee to arrange this unfortunate incident to the Earl's satisfaction. The committee was appointed without delay, and the matter was settled before the House rose.¹ Waller and his friends submitted without a murmur; Essex and his adherents did not boast of their triumph; and the reconciliation between the two parties seemed complete, at the moment when they were about to renew their conflict.

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 177; Whitelocke, p. 75.

BOOK V.

STATE OF PARTIES—RISE OF THE INDEPENDENTS—PROCEEDINGS OF THE COURT AT OXFORD—THE KING CONCLUDES A TREATY WITH THE IRISH—PARLIAMENT AT OXFORD—DEATH OF PYM—CAMPAIGN OF 1644—BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR—REVERSES OF ESSEX IN CORNWALL—MIS-UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN CROMWELL AND THE PRESBYTERIAN LEADERS—ATTEMPTS AT NEGOCIATION—SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE—TRIAL AND DEATH OF LAUD—NEGOCIATIONS AT UXBRIDGE—REORGANIZATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARIAN ARMY—FAIRFAX IS APPOINTED GENERAL—ESSEX TENDERS HIS RESIGNATION.

THE joy of the Presbyterians had now reached its climax; the Parliament owed its safety to their leader; their enemies were silenced; the Scottish army, which would soon arrive, promised an unfailing support to their cause; they alone, therefore, were likely to have the future disposal of both reform and war, and might, at their pleasure, either prosecute or suspend them.

Both in and out of Parliament, in London and through the provinces, a spirit of religious fervour and intolerance ere long made its appearance. The Assembly of Divines received instructions,¹ on the 12th

¹ Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 123.

of October, 1643, to prepare a scheme of ecclesiastical government; and on the 20th of November, four Scottish theologians were summoned to assist them in carrying out the great design of their party—the establishment of uniformity of worship in the two countries.¹ The committees which had been appointed, in every county, to inquire into the conduct and doctrine of the incumbents of benefices, redoubled the activity and strictness of their investigations. Nearly two thousand ministers were expelled from their livings;² and many others, on the ground that they were Brownists, Anabaptists, or Independents, were thrown into prison by the very men who, not long before, had joined with them in cursing their common persecutors. In the City, all persons who refused to subscribe the Covenant, were declared incapable of sitting in the Common Council, and even of voting at the election of its members.³ From the commencement of the war, the Parliament had closed all the theatres, without banning them by any religious anathematization, but merely stating that times of public affliction should be spent in repentance and prayer rather than in the pursuit of pleasure.⁴ The same interdict was now laid on all public amusements, on

¹ These were Henderson, Rutherford, Gillespie, and Baillie.—Baillie's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 398; Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 349.

² Writers of the Episcopalian party have swelled this number to 8000, and their opponents reduce it to less than 1600. I have adopted an estimate based on the information supplied by Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. pp. 111—113.

³ December 20, 1643.—Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 66.

⁴ September 2, 1642.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. ii. col. 1461.

all the popular games which were customary throughout the kingdom on Sundays and holidays; the May poles, which from time immemorial had been planted in token of the national delight at the return of spring, were cut down in every village, and orders were given that no new ones should be erected; and if children forgot the existence of these laws, their parents had to expiate every mirthful demonstration of which they were guilty by a fine of twelve pence.¹ Finally, Archbishop Laud, who for three years had lain forgotten in the Tower, was suddenly called to the bar of the House of Lords, and required to answer the impeachment of the Commons.² Fanaticism counts the gratification of hatred and revenge among its first duties.

The same zeal was manifested for the prosecution of the war. Proud at having borne so distinguished a part in the recent victories, the Presbyterians of the city of London no longer spoke of peace. A large number of wealthy citizens equipped soldiers, and even offered to serve in person. One of them, Rowland Wilson, the heir expectant of an immense business, and of 2000*l.* a-year in landed estate, joined the army of Essex, at the head of a regiment which he had raised at his own expense.³ Even some of the leaders, Hollis, Glyn, and Maynard, who had lately been so friendly to negotiation, now harangued the Common Council, in order to rouse it to the most strenuous efforts.⁴

¹ Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 139.

² November 13, 1643.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 183.

³ Whitelocke, p. 76.

⁴ Ibid. p. 86.

Never had the party appeared more vigorous, or in more secure possession of the chief power.

The downfall of the Presbyterians was, nevertheless, close at hand. Pledged from the outset to a double task, the reformation of both Church and State, they had not pursued these two objects in reliance on the same principles, or for the attainment of the same designs. In religious matters, their faith was ardent, and their doctrines simple, firm, logical, and connected; the Presbyterian system, or the government of the Church by ministers equal in rank and deliberating in concert, was not, in their eyes, a human and alterable institution, which men might modify at their will, to suit the circumstances and requirements of the age; it was the only legitimate system of Church organization, a government resting on divine right, and appointed by Christ himself. Their party aimed at rendering this system unreservedly triumphant, at any cost, as a holy and indispensable revolution. In politics, on the contrary, notwithstanding the violence of their actions and language, their ideas were vague and their intentions moderate: no systematic belief, no really revolutionary passion, swayed their conduct; they loved monarchy whilst they fought against the King; respected prerogative whilst they laboured to bring the Crown into subjection; trusted the Commons alone, though they felt neither dislike nor contempt for the Lords; and, in fact, they were as obedient to old habits as to new necessities, had no precise understanding either of the principles or consequences of their proceedings,

believed they were aiming only at a strictly legal reform, and desired nothing more.

Thus actuated by contrary feelings, by turns imperious and irresolute, fanatical and moderate, the Presbyterian party did not possess leaders who had sprung from its own ranks, and who were invariably animated by sentiments in conformity with those which it entertained itself. It followed in the train of the political reformers, the earliest interpreters and the true representatives of the national movement. Their alliance was natural and necessary to it; natural, for, like it, they sought to reform and not to destroy the government; and necessary, for they were in possession of the chief power, which they held in virtue of their superiority in rank, wealth, and intelligence—advantages in which even the most ardent Presbyterians did not dream of competing with them. But while accepting, and even, in case of need, purchasing by great concessions the support of the sectaries, the majority of the political reformers did not share in their opinions or views in reference to the Church: a system of moderate episcopacy, restricted to the legal administration of ecclesiastical affairs, would have been more to their taste; they made use of the Presbyterian system with great reluctance, and secretly strove to impede its progress. The energetic action of the party in the religious revolution was thus frustrated by leaders whom it neither could nor would abandon; and their union was only complete and sincere on the question of political reform—in other words, in that cause in which neither leaders nor party had any

inflexible passions to gratify, or any absolute principles to render triumphant.

But at the close of 1643, political reform, in so far at least as it was legal, had been consummated; abuses no longer existed; all the laws which were deemed necessary had been made, and institutions had been modified to the full extent of the knowledge of the reformers; nothing was wanting to complete the work which the defenders of ancient liberties and the Presbyterian sectaries alike desired, and were able to accomplish by acting in concert. But the religious revolution had scarcely commenced, and political reform, tottering on an insecure foundation, threatened to become revolution. The moment was, therefore, at hand, when the internal defects of the party which had until then been predominant, the incoherence of its constituent elements, principles, and designs, could not fail to come to light. Day after day it was forced to pursue the most inconsistent courses, and to attempt the most incongruous efforts. That which it demanded for the Church, it rejected in the State; and, constantly shifting its position and altering its language, it was compelled by turns to invoke democratic principles and passions in opposition to the bishops, and to enlist monarchical or aristocratic maxims and influences against the rising spirit of republicanism. It was a strange sight to see the same men destroying with one hand and sustaining with the other; sometimes advocating innovations, and sometimes anathematizing innovators; alternately reckless and timid, at once rebels and tyrants; persecuting the Episcopa-

lians in the name of the rights of liberty, and the Independents in the name of the rights of power ; arrogating to themselves the privileges of insurrection and tyranny, whilst they daily declaimed against tyranny and insurrection.

At the same time, the Presbyterian party found itself deserted, disavowed, or compromised by several of its leaders. Some, like Rudyard, caring most of all for their honour and virtue, withdrew altogether from the scene of strife, or returned to it only at long intervals, to protect rather than to act. Others less honest, like St. John, or bolder and more persevering, like Pym, or chiefly anxious to provide for their personal safety, courted or at least endeavoured to conciliate the new party, whose speedy accession to power they foresaw. Many, already disabused and corrupted, had abandoned all patriotic hopes, and, aiming only to preserve their own fortunes, formed rapacious coalitions in the committees intrusted with the management of affairs, and distributed all employments, confiscations, and bounties among themselves. Of the noblemen who had until then remained faithful to the national cause, several, as we have seen, had lately left London to sue for pardon at Oxford ; others, retiring altogether from public life, withdrew to their estates ; and in order to avoid pillage or sequestration, negotiated by turns with the Court and the Parliament. On the 22nd of September, ten lords only were in their places in the Upper House ;¹ and on the 5th of October, only

¹ The ten lords present on the 22nd of September were, the Earls of Lincoln, Bolingbroke, Stamford, and Denbigh, Viscount Say, and Lords Grey, Wharton, Howard, Hunsdon, and Dacre.

five were present. An order that the names should be called over at the opening of every sitting, and the fear of finding their absence thus legally registered, brought back a few to Westminster; but the aristocracy daily became more suspected, or more alienated from the people, and served rather to embarrass than support the Presbyterians; and whilst their religious fanaticism estranged from them the ablest defenders of public liberties, their political moderation prevented them from abjuring uncertain and dangerous allies.

Finally, their party had been in power for three years; whether they had or had not accomplished their designs in Church or State, it was by their aid and with their sanction that, for three years, public business had been conducted: on this ground alone, many persons were beginning to weary of them; they were made responsible for all the evils that had been already endured, and for all the hopes that had been frustrated; they were considered to be as much given to persecution as the bishops, and as arbitrary as the King; their acts of inconsistency and weakness were bitterly enumerated: in a word, even in those not actuated by factious or interested views, the mere progress of events and opinions awakened a secret longing for new principles and other rulers.

Both were ready, and waiting only for an opportunity to possess themselves of the empire. Long before the commencement of the civil war, when the Presbyterians were only beginning to manifest their intention to impose a republican constitution on the national Church, to maintain in it unity of power and creed

under that new form, and thus to contend with Episcopacy for the inheritance of Popery—the Independents, Brownists, and Anabaptists had already openly demanded whether there ought to be a national Church at all, and by what right any power, whether Popery, Episcopacy, or Presbyterianism, could claim authority to bow Christian consciences beneath the yoke of a lying unity. Every congregation of believers, they said, dwelling in or near the same place, who freely met, on the ground of their common faith, to worship the Lord together, is a true Church, over which no other Church can claim any authority, and which has the right to choose its own ministers, to regulate its own form of worship, and in a word, to govern itself by its own laws.

On its first appearance, the principle of liberty of conscience, thus proclaimed by obscure sectaries, amidst the wild vagaries of blind enthusiasm, was treated as a crime or as madness. Even the sectaries themselves seemed to advocate the principle without understanding it, and to uphold it less from reason than from necessity. Both Episcopalian and Presbyterian preachers and magistrates, united to condemn it; the question, in what way and by whom the Church of Christ should be governed, continued to be almost solely discussed; men believed that they must choose between the absolute power of the Pope, the aristocracy of the bishops, and the democracy of the Presbyterian clergy; none took the pains to inquire whether such forms of government were legitimate in principle, irrespectively of their name or character.

A great movement, however, was agitating all things, even those which seemed not to be affected by its influence; every day brought with it some new trial from which no system could escape, or some discussion which the dominant party strove in vain to stifle. Daily called upon to consider some new aspect of human affairs, or to discuss opinions and reject pretensions previously unknown, the minds of the people gained freedom by this occupation; and this liberty led some to rise to loftier views of man and society, and others boldly to cast away all prejudices and all restraint. At the same time, practical liberty, in matters of faith and worship, was almost absolute; no jurisdiction, no repressive authority, had as yet taken the place of Episcopacy; and the Parliament, occupied with the necessity of conquering its enemies, took small pains to check the pious vagaries of its partizans. Presbyterian zeal sometimes obtained threatening declarations against the new sectaries from the two Houses; and sometimes, when the fears and animosities of the political reformers coincided with those of their devout allies, they united in adopting severe measures against their adversaries. On the 11th of June, 1643, an ordinance was passed "for suppressing the great abuses and frequent disorders in printing many false, forged, scandalous, seditious, libellous, and unlicensed papers, pamphlets, and books, to the great defamation of religion and government." These were the words of the preamble, but the Act abolished the liberty of the press which had until then been allowed, and subjected all publications to previous censor-

ship.¹ But the ruling power can never check those who precede it in a movement in which it is itself engaged. After the lapse of a few weeks, the Royalists and Episcopalians were the only persons on whom these restrictions weighed; the new sects either eluded or defied them, and spread in every direction, daily becoming more numerous, various, and zealous, under the names of Independents, Brownists, Anabaptists, Antipædobaptists, Quakers, Antinomians, and Fifth-monarchy-men. Under the very shadow of the Presbyterian rule, the revolution raised up a host of enthusiasts, philosophers, and freethinkers, to oppose their sway.

All questions thenceforward took a new direction; the social agitation changed its character. Powerful and respected traditions had hitherto guided and restrained the views of political, and even of religious reformers; to the one party, the legal condition of old England, or at least their idea of that condition; and to the other, the constitution of the Church as it already existed in Scotland, Holland, and Geneva—served at once as a model and a curb. However daring their enterprises may have been, neither were actuated by vague desires or boundless aspirations; all was not innovation in their designs, or conjecture in their hopes, and if they mistook the tendency of their actions, they could at least assign the object at which they aimed. No fixed purpose regulated the progress of their rivals, no historical or legal tradition set bounds to their theory; confident in its strength, and proud of its loftiness,

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 131.

holiness, or boldness, they invested that theory with the right to judge and rule all else ; and taking it alone as their guide, they sought at any cost,—the philosophers for truth, the enthusiasts for the Lord, and the free-thinkers for success. Institutions, laws, customs, and events, were all required to conform to the reason or will of man ; all became the subject of new combinations and ingenious speculations ; and in this daring labour, everything appeared legitimate if based on a principle or a vision, or called for by necessity. The Presbyterians proscribed royalty and aristocracy in the Church, why should they be retained in the State ? The political reformers had hinted that, in the end, if the King or the Lords persisted in refusing their consent, the will of the Commons should carry the point ; why should not this principle be proclaimed aloud ? Why invoke the sovereignty of the people only because the case was desperate, and in order to render resistance legitimate, when it should serve as the bases of the government itself, and should confer legitimacy on the ruling power ? After having cast off the yoke of the Romish priesthood and of the Episcopal clergy, the nation was about to place itself in subjection to the Presbyterian clergy ; what was the use of a clergy at all ? By what right did priests form a permanent, wealthy, and independent body, with authority to command the assistance of the civil power ? Let them be deprived of all jurisdiction, and even of the power to excommunicate ; let them retain means of persuasion alone, preaching, teaching, and prayer ; and all abuses of spiritual power, all difficulties

about reconciling it with the civil government, will cease at once. Besides, it is in the general body of believers, and not in the priesthood, that the legitimate power in matters of faith resides; the right of choosing and instituting their ministers belongs to the believers, and priests have no authority to appoint one another, and then force themselves on the faithful. Moreover, is not every believer himself a priest, to himself, to his family, and to all Christians who, moved by his teaching, may deem him inspired from on high, and consent to unite with him in prayer? Who would venture to refuse the Lord the power of conferring His gift on whomsoever he will, and as it may please Him? Whether it be necessary to preach or to fight, it is the Lord alone who chooses and consecrates His saints; and when He has chosen them, He entrusts His cause to their hands, and reveals to them alone the means by which its triumph is to be achieved. The freethinkers applauded these arguments; so long as the revolution were carried to its full extent, they cared not by what means, or from what motives, it was effected.

Thus arose the party of the Independents, far less numerous, and far less popular throughout the country than that of the Presbyterians, but already in possession of that ascendancy which accompanies adherence to systematic and definite principles, ever ready to give a reason for their adoption, and to accept all the consequences they might involve. England was then in one of those glorious but formidable conjunctures, when man, forgetting his weakness and remembering nought

but his dignity, is moved by a sublime ambition to obey pure truth alone, and by an insane pride to attribute all the rights of truth to his own opinions. Whether politicians or sectaries, Presbyterians or Independents, no party would have ventured to believe itself relieved from the necessity of being right, and proving that it was so. In this attempt the Presbyterians failed, for their wisdom rested on the authority of traditions and laws, and not upon principles; and they were therefore unable to refute the arguments of their rivals by reason alone. The Independents alone professed a simple, though apparently severe doctrine, which sanctioned all their acts, sufficed for all the necessities of their position, and relieved the strong-minded from inconsistency, and the sincere from hypocrisy. They alone also were beginning to utter some of those mighty words which, whether rightly or wrongly understood, arouse the strongest passions of humanity, in the name of its noblest hopes; they demanded equality of rights, a just distribution of social advantages, and the destruction of all abuses. There was no contradiction between their political and religious systems, no secret conflict between the leaders and their adherents, no exclusive creed or rigorous test to render admission into the party a matter of difficulty. Like the sect from which they derived their name, the Independents held liberty of conscience as a fundamental maxim, and the immensity of the reforms which they proposed, and the vast uncertainty of their designs, allowed men of the most various opinions to range themselves beneath their banner. Lawyers joined them in the hope of

depriving their rivals, the clergy, of all jurisdiction and authority ; popular theorists hoped to obtain from them a new, clear, and simple system of legislation which would deprive the lawyers of their enormous profits and influence. Harrington could dream among them of a society of sages, Sidney of the liberty of Sparta or Rome, Lilburne of the restoration of the old Saxon laws, and Harrison of the coming of Christ. Even the cynicism of Henry Martyn and Sir Peter Wentworth was tolerated in consideration of its audacity. Whether republicans or levellers, reasoners or visionaries, fanatics or ambitious men, all were admitted to contribute their quota of animosities, theories, chimeras, and intrigues ; it was enough that all, animated by an equal hatred for Cavaliers and Presbyterians, were ready to proceed with the same ardour towards that unknown future which was expected to realize so many desires.

No victory achieved by Essex and his friends, either on the battle-field or in Westminster Hall, could stifle or even long repress such dissensions ; they were as publicly known at Oxford as in London ; and all men of sense, whether Parliamentarians or Royalists, had already adopted them as the basis of their combinations. Information on the subject flowed in to the King from every side, and he was most strongly urged to take advantage of these divisions in the enemy's camp. All his adherents, whether courtiers or ministers, intriguing parasites or sincere friends, had their own private intelligence, propositions, and means of action to communicate ; some advised that the war should be carried on

with unremitting energy, as they were convinced that the rival factions would soon be more willing to listen to their mutual enmities than to their common dangers; others suggested, on the other hand, that by means of the noblemen who had sought refuge at Oxford, and particularly of the Earls of Bedford and Holland, an attempt should be made to conciliate Essex and his party, who, in their inmost hearts, had never ceased to desire peace; others even went so far as to recommend that advances should be made to the leaders of the Independents, who, they said, might be purchased at less cost; and Lord Lovelace, with the King's sanction, kept up a regular correspondence with Sir Harry Vane, little thinking that Vane also was writing with the consent of his colleagues, in order to obtain information regarding the state of the Court.¹ But neither of these plans was fully adopted, or likely to be efficacious. The Lords who had deserted the Parliament had found it very difficult to obtain admission at Oxford: on the first rumours of their expected arrival, general indignation had been expressed against them; the Privy Council had solemnly met, and deliberated at great length on the reception to be given to them; and in spite of the prudent remonstrances of Hyde, (who had recently been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer), Charles, though consenting to receive them, had determined to treat them with coolness.² In vain had Lord Holland, the most elegant and adroit of courtiers, succeeded, by the help of Mr. Jermyn, in regaining

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 199; Whitelocke, p. 80.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 203.

the favour of the Queen ;¹ in vain did he exert all his ingenuity to recover his old familiarity with the King, sometimes affecting to whisper in his ear, and sometimes succeeding in drawing him, under various pretexts, into the embrasure of a window, that he might have an opportunity, or at all events the appearance, of conversing privately with him ;² in vain had he fought bravely as a volunteer in the battle of Newbury, and offered his blood as the pledge of his renewed fidelity ;³ nothing could overcome the haughty reserve of the King, or impose silence on the complaints of the Court ; and far from finding their services thankfully welcomed, the refugee lords were already beginning to consider how they might best escape from their unpleasant position. The advocates of a vigorous war were listened to with greater favour, but as little effect ; the failure of the siege of Gloucester had thrown Oxford into a state of anarchy as destructive as it was annoying ; each blamed the other for having advised that fatal enterprise ; the Council complained of the insubordination of the army ; the army insolently braved the complaints of the Council. Prince Rupert, though not required, even in action, to obey any one but the King himself,⁴ was jealous of the General-in-chief ; the General and all the principal noblemen loudly complained of the independence and ill-behaviour of Prince Rupert. The King, who respected the dignity of his own blood in the persons of his nephews,

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. p. 208.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 265.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 270.

could not condescend to decide against them in favour of a subject, and recklessly sacrificed the rights and services of his most useful friends to this ridiculous pride. Hyde alone offered really honest opposition to these unwise proceedings, and sometimes succeeded in dissuading the King from obeying the dictates of his vanity; but Hyde himself was a stranger in the Court, with no dignity or power but that which he derived from his office, and he had need of all the King's favour to maintain his own position, against the Queen's dislike, no less than against the intrigues of jealous courtiers; he kept up his reputation as an influential councillor and wise man, but he exercised no real ascendancy, and could obtain no important result.¹ In a word, dissensions were as rife at Oxford as in London, and far more fatal, for in London they accelerated, whilst at Oxford they paralysed, the progress of affairs.

It was in the midst of these embarrassments, and at a time when, in his inmost heart, he was probably as tired of his party as of his people, that Charles received information of the new alliance between Scotland and the Parliament, and learned that another of his kingdoms was preparing to make war against him. He immediately sent orders to the Duke of Hamilton, who had now regained his confidence, and acted as his Commissioner in Edinburgh, to prevent this union at any cost. The Duke was empowered, it is said, to promise the Scots that, in future, one-third of the offices in the royal household should be conferred on their countrymen; that the counties of Northumber-

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. p. 259.

land, Westmoreland and Cumberland, which had formerly constituted part of their territory, should be again annexed to Scotland; that the King would fix his royal residence at Newcastle; and finally, that the Prince of Wales should establish his court permanently among them.¹ Such promises, even supposing that they were made, could not have been performed, and were utterly devoid of sincerity; and had the Scottish Parliament been willing to fall into the snare, a recent occurrence rendered the delusion too palpable for them to be deceived by it. The Earl of Antrim had just been arrested in Ireland, by the Scottish troops quartered in Ulster, a few hours after his landing; and on his person had been found ample evidence of the plan which had been formed at York between Montrose and himself, during their residence with the Queen, for conveying into Scotland a large body of Irish Catholics, rousing the Highlanders to revolt, and thus effecting a powerful diversion in favour of the King. The enterprise was evidently to be undertaken without delay, for Montrose had joined the King during the siege of Gloucester, and Antrim had just come from Oxford. The King, therefore, as at his last visit to Scotland, was still meditating the most sinister designs against his subjects, at the very moment when his Commissioners were making them the most splendid proposals on his behalf. The Parliament at Edinburgh hastened to conclude its treaty with the Parliament at Westminster, and sent it full information of all these details.²

¹ Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. i. p. 64.

² Laing's History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 256.

A far more serious discovery had been made at the same time, and was now communicated to the English Parliament. The papers taken from Lord Antrim made it plain that the King held frequent correspondence with the Irish insurgents; that he had received many petitions and proposals from them; that he was even on the point of concluding a suspension of hostilities with them, from which he hoped to gain the greatest advantages in the next campaign. These indications were not erroneous; for a long period, Charles, while speaking in the bitterest terms of Ireland to the English, had been endeavouring to conciliate and treat with the Irish rebels.¹ The war kindled by the late insurrection had continued in that unhappy country without intermission, but to no purpose. Ten or twelve thousand soldiers, ill-paid and rarely reinforced, were not strong enough to subdue the insurgents, though sufficient to prevent them from establishing their independence. In the month of February, 1642, before the outbreak of the civil war, the Parliament had resolved to make a great effort for the suppression of the rebellion. A loan had been opened to defray the expenses of a decisive expedition; and the estates of the rebels, which by future confiscations could not fail to lapse to the Crown, were appropriated by anticipation, upon a fixed scale, for the repayment of the subscribers.² Large sums had been

¹ His correspondence with Lord Ormond removes all doubt on this subject. (See Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. iii. *passim*.) Mr. Brodie has carefully arranged the evidence in a note to his *History of the British Empire* (vol. iii. p. 459).

² May's *History of the Long Parliament*, p. 155.

thus collected, and some supplies had been sent to Dublin; but the civil war broke out; the Parliament, under the overwhelming pressure of its own affairs, turned its attention only at long intervals to Ireland, and then with no great vigour and efficiency, merely endeavouring to pacify the complaints of the Protestants in that kingdom, when they became too clamorous, and, above all, to render the King responsible, in the eyes of England, for all the sufferings they endured. Charles was equally disinclined to give them his attention or to make sacrifices on their behalf, and whilst he reproached the Parliament with having appropriated a portion of the sum raised for their relief, he himself intercepted the convoys destined to supply them with provisions, and took from the very arsenals of Dublin the arms and ammunition of which they had such urgent need.¹ But the leading Protestants of Ireland, aristocrats by position, were attached to Episcopacy and to the Crown; the army numbered among its officers a great many of those whom the Parliament had banished as Cavaliers; their general was the Earl of Ormonde, a rich, brave, generous, and popular nobleman, who defeated the rebels in two battles,² and ascribed to the King all the honour of his success. The Parliamentary party rapidly declined in Ireland; the magistrates who were devoted to its cause were superseded by Royalists. In the autumn of 1642, the Parliament sent two members of

¹ Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii. Appendix, pp. 3, 5.

² The battle of Kilrush, on the 15th of April, 1642, and that of Ross, on the 19th of March, 1643.

the House of Commons, Messrs. Goodwin and Reynolds, as its commissioners, in the hope they might recover their lost influence; but Ormonde refused them admission into the council, and after the lapse of four months, in February, 1643, he felt himself strong enough to compel them to return to England. All the civil and military power of the country was thenceforward in the hands of the King, who, relieved from an annoying though powerless surveillance, no longer hesitated to carry out the design to which his embarrassments and inclinations alike impelled him. The Queen had never ceased to maintain a correspondence with the Irish Catholics, of which her husband was doubtless not ignorant: the insurrection was no longer, as at the outset, the unrestrained gratification of the hideous passions of a savage populace; a supreme council of twenty-four members, which had been established at Kilkenny since the 14th of November, 1642, controlled the rebellion with great prudence and regularity; and they had already more than once addressed dutiful messages to the King, entreating him to cease to persecute, from complaisance towards his enemies, faithful subjects whose only desire was to serve him. Charles did not yet consider himself in sufficient danger, or sufficiently independent of public opinion, to accept such an alliance openly; but he might at least, he thought, show the Irish some favour, and recall to England the army which was fighting in his name against the Catholic insurgents, in order to employ it against rebels still more hateful and formidable. Ormonde received instructions to open negotiations

with the Council at Kilkenny for this purpose ;¹ and in the meanwhile, with a view to justify the proceeding by valid reason, or to secure the excuse of necessity, reports were assiduously spread about the distress (which in reality was very great) to which the Protestant cause and its defenders were reduced in Ireland. In a long and pathetic remonstrance, addressed to the council in Dublin, the army set forth all its privations and sufferings, and expressed its resolution to abandon a service which it was no longer able to discharge. Petitions were sent at the same time to Oxford and London to acquaint the King and the Parliament with this declaration and complaint.² Meanwhile, the negotiations made rapid progress : at the moment of Antrim's arrest, they had almost reached their termination, and towards the middle of September, a few days before the two Houses solemnly ratified at Westminster the Covenant which had been concluded with the Scots, England learned that, on the 5th of that month, at Sigginstown, in the county of Kildare, the King had signed a truce for a year with the Irish rebels, that the English troops which had been sent to quell the insurrection were under orders to return, and that ten regiments would shortly land, five at Chester and five at Bristol.³

Violent clamours arose on every hand ; the Irish were regarded by the English with feelings of contempt, aversion, and horror. Even among the Royalists, and

¹ Ormonde's commission is dated January 11, 1643 : the negotiations commenced during the month of March following.

² Rushworth, vol. vi. p. 537.

³ Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 279.

within the very walls of Oxford, discontent was unhesitatingly expressed at this proceeding. Several officers left Lord Newcastle's army, and made their submission to the Parliament.¹ Lord Holland returned to London, saying that the Papists were decidedly uppermost at Oxford, and that his conscience would not allow him to remain there any longer. Lords Bedford, Clare, and Paget, Sir Edward Dering, and several other gentlemen, followed his example, screening their fickleness or cowardice by the same pretext.² The Parliament showed no unwillingness to pardon the penitents. The King's conduct was the theme of popular invective and sarcasm; his recent protestations were called to mind, and the haughty tone of his apologies, when complaints had been made of the intrigues of the Court with the insurgents; and whilst all rejoiced at having so sagaciously divined his secret practices, all were indignant that he should have hoped to impose so grossly on his people, and to reckon on such base faithlessness for success. Popular indignation rose still higher when it became known that a considerable number of Irish Papists had been drafted into the recalled troops, and that women, armed with long knives, and in the garb of savages, had been seen among their ranks.³ It seemed, therefore, that, not content with ceasing to avenge the massacre of the Protestants in Ireland, the King was taking their ferocious murderers into his service, in order to subdue the Protestants of England.

¹ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 77.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 189, 297; Whitelocke, pp. 77, 79, 81.

³ Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 75, 81.

Many persons, whose rank should have raised them above the passionate prejudices of the multitude, entertained a deep hatred for the King from this time forth, —some on account of his duplicity, others because of the favour he showed to the Papists; and his name was now often accompanied with insult, though previously it had seldom been mentioned without respect.

When informed of this state of feeling regarding him, and of the endeavours of the Parliament to fan the flame, Charles, regarding it as an insult that any one should presume to judge of his intentions by his acts, and not by his speeches, was in his turn filled with the utmost indignation. He sent for Hyde, and told him: "I think there is too much honour done to these rebels at Westminster in all my declarations, by my mentioning them as part of the Parliament; which, as long as they are thought to be, they will have more authority, by their continuing their sitting in the place whither they were first called, than all the other members, though so much more numerous, would have when convened anywhere else. I know learned men of an opinion that the act of the continuance of the Parliament was void from the beginning, for it is not in the power of the King to bar himself from the power of dissolving Parliament, which is an essential part of his sovereignty; but even if the act were good and valid in law, they have forfeited their right of sitting there by their treason and rebellion. I wish, therefore, that a proclamation may be prepared, to declare them actually dissolved, and expressly forbidding anybody to own them, or submit to them as a

Parliament." Hyde listened with surprise and anxiety, for the mere idea of such a measure appeared to him madness. "I perceive," he replied, "by your Majesty's discourse, that you have very much considered the argument, and are well prepared in it; which, for my part, I am not. But I beseech you to think it worth a very strict reflection, and to hear the opinion of learned men before you resolve upon it. It is of a very nice and delicate nature, at which not only the people in general, but those of your own party, and even of your Council, will take more umbrage than upon any one particular that has happened since the beginning of the war. I cannot imagine that your forbidding them to meet any more at Westminster would make one man the less to meet there. As for the invalidity of the Act, I am inclined to hope that it may be originally void; and the Parliament itself, if this rebellion were suppressed, might be of the same judgment, and declare it accordingly. But till then, I think all the judges together would not declare any such invalidity: and much less that any private man, however learned, would avow that judgment. It was the first powerful reproach they corrupted the people with towards your Majesty, that you intended to dissolve this Parliament, and, by the same power, to repeal all the other Acts made by it, whereof some are very precious to the people. And as your Majesty has always disclaimed any such thought, such a proclamation as you now mention would confirm all the jealousies and fears which have been infused into the people, and trouble many of your true subjects. I

therefore hope your Majesty will very thoroughly consult it, before you do so much as incline in your own wishes to this design."¹

As soon as it became known that Hyde had spoken thus frankly to the King, nearly all the members of the Council expressed similar opinions. Notwithstanding his haughtiness, Charles was irresolute and timid in the midst of his advisers; objections embarrassed him, and he generally gave way, either because he knew not what to answer, or in order to put an end to discussion, which he disliked to maintain even with his own partizans. After some days of hesitation, more affected than real, the project was abandoned. Some decisive measure, however, appeared necessary, were it only to keep the Royalist party on the alert, and not allow the Parliament, in the intervals of peace, the merit of engrossing the impatient activity of the public mind. As the name of Parliament exercised so powerful an influence upon the people, it was suggested that all those members of the two Houses who had been excluded from Westminster, should be summoned to meet at Oxford, and that a legal and true Parliament, of which the King would form part, should thus be set in opposition to a factious and mutilated Parliament. This proposition was displeasing to Charles; he regarded every Parliament, even though Royalist, with suspicion and impatience; for he would be obliged to listen to its counsels, to submit to its influence, and perhaps to condescend to desires of peace which might be incompatible with the honour of his throne. The

¹ Clarendon's Life, vol. i. pp. 206—209.

Queen's opposition was still more violent; an English assembly, no matter how great its zeal for the royal cause, would, she knew, be strenuously opposed to the Catholics and to her favourites. However, when the proposition had once become known, it was difficult to reject it; the Royalist party had welcomed it with delight; even the Council strongly insisted on the advantages it would afford, the subsidies which the new Houses would vote for the King's service, and the discredit in which the Westminster Parliament would be involved, when it was seen how many members had deserted it. Charles yielded, notwithstanding his repugnance; and such was the general tendency of public feeling, that the intention to dissolve a rebellious Parliament resulted only in the formation of a second Parliament.¹

This measure at first occasioned some dismay in London. It was well known that, at the same time, the Royalist party were renewing their efforts in the City,—that it was in contemplation to negotiate a treaty of peace directly between the King and the citizens, without the intervention of the Parliament,—that the basis of the treaty was already agreed upon,—and that, among other things, the loans which had been effected in the City by the Parliament, and the interest on which was very irregularly paid, were to be acknowledged and guaranteed by the King.² Out of London,

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. p. 352; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 194. The royal proclamation for assembling the Parliament at Oxford is dated on the 22nd of December, 1643.

² *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 196; *Milton's History of England*, book iii. in Mitford's edition of his *Prose Works*.

another plot was also discovered ; set on foot, it was said, by the moderate politicians and certain obscure Independents, to prevent the entrance of the Scots into the kingdom, and to cast off the yoke of the Presbyterian party, at any risk.¹ The Commons further had to deplore the loss of the oldest, and perhaps the most useful, of their leaders : Pym died on the 8th of December 1643, after a few days' illness. He was a man of much less splendid renown than Hampden ; but, both in the secret conclaves of his party, and in the public acts of the House, he had rendered no less eminent services to his cause : firm, patient, and adroit ; equally skilful in attacking an enemy, directing a debate, conducting an intrigue, exciting the passions of the people, and securing or strengthening the adherence of doubtful partizans ;² an indefatigable member of most committees, the usual reporter of decisive measures, ever ready to undertake duties from which others shrank ;—in a word, indifferent to labour, disappointment, fortune or glory—it was his sole ambition to promote the success of his party. A short time before his last illness, he had published an apology for his conduct, addressed especially to the friends of order and peace ;³ as though he felt some regret for the past, and secretly feared that the future might be laid to his charge. But death relieved him, as it had relieved Hampden, from the embarrassment of exceeding his opinions or belying his life ; and far

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 200 ; Whitelocke, p. 79.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. pp. 436—440.

³ See Appendix IV.

from resenting the slight symptoms of hesitation which had characterized the last days of this veteran champion of national reform, the men who were preparing to turn reform into revolution, Cromwell, Vane, and Haslerig, were the first to pay the utmost honours to his memory. The body of Pym lay in state for several days, not only in compliance with the wishes of the people, who crowded to see it, but also in order to refute the report spread by the Royalists that he had died of a loathsome disease. A committee was appointed to inquire into the state of his fortune, and to erect a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey. The entire House of Commons followed his body to the grave, and a few days after, undertook the payment of his debts, which had all been contracted, it was said, in his country's service, and which amounted to ten thousand pounds.¹

At the same time that the Commons adopted these resolutions, a deputation from the Common Council of the city of London waited on the Lords to thank the House for their energy, to compliment the Lord-general on his courage, to renew their oath to live and die for the holy cause, and to invite them to a grand banquet, in celebration of their union.²

The Parliament recovered all its confidence. On the 22nd of January, 1644, the day on which the Assembly at Oxford was to meet, the names of the members were called over at Westminster; only

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 186; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 441.

² On the 13th of January, 1644.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 187, 198; Whitelocke, p. 80.

twenty-two Lords were in their places in the Upper House; but in the House of Commons, two hundred and eighty members answered to their names, and a hundred others were known to be absent on the public service, by order of the Parliament.¹ It resolved not to suffer its rights to be called in question, and to reject with disdain all correspondence with the rivals who had been set in opposition to it. An opportunity soon occurred for carrying out this resolution. A week had scarcely elapsed, before the Earl of Essex delivered to the Upper House an unopened packet which he had just received from the Earl of Forth, General-in-chief of the King's army. A committee was appointed to examine its contents; their report was brief and speedy; the packet, they said, contained nothing addressed to the Houses, and the Lord-general had nothing to do but to send it back again. Essex immediately obeyed.²

It was to him alone, in fact, that the despatch was addressed. Forty-five Lords and a hundred and eighteen members of the House of Commons,³ assembled at Oxford, informed him of their installation, of

¹ Whitelocke, p. 80; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 198.

² On the 1st of February, 1644.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 201.

³ This list was headed by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, and it was afterwards increased by the arrival of five lords and twenty-three members of the House of Commons, who were absent from Oxford when the letter was sent. More than twenty-two lords were also absent on the King's service, nine were travelling on the Continent, and two were in prison in London as Royalists; thirty-four members of the House of Commons were also absent on the King's service, or on leave, or from illness; in all, eighty-three lords and a hundred and sixty-five commoners formed the Parliament at Oxford.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 218.

their desires for peace, and of the favourable disposition of the King; and urged him to use his influence to incline to peace those whose confidence he possessed.¹ This was the only phrase used to designate the Houses at Westminster, which Charles now persisted in refusing to acknowledge as the Parliament.

On the 18th of February, Essex received a second letter; the Earl of Forth wrote to request a safe-conduct for two gentlemen whom, he said, the King wished to send to London with overtures for peace. "My lord," replied Essex, "when you shall send for a safe-conduct for those gentlemen mentioned in your letter, from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament, I shall, with all cheerfulness, show my willingness to further any way that may produce that happiness that all honest men pray for; which is, a true understanding between his Majesty and his faithful and only council, the Parliament."²

Charles was delighted to find his adversaries thus unyielding, and hoped that his party would at length consider itself under the necessity of appealing to war to decide the quarrel. But the Assembly at Oxford was not so haughty as the King; it felt that its strength was small, and that its right was doubtful; it had not dared to assume the name of Parliament, and it regretted that the King, by refusing that title to the Houses at Westminster, had thrown so formidable an obstacle in the way of peace. It insisted upon his taking one more step, and making some concession calculated to appease the public feeling against him.

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 209.

² Ibid. vol. iii. col. 212.

Charles consented to write to the Houses to propose a negociation, and addressed his letter: "To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster;" but in the letter, he spoke of "the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford," as their equals.¹ A trumpeter was ere long sent by Essex with the answer of the two Houses. "When we consider," they said, "the expressions in that letter of your Majesty's, we have more sad and despairing thoughts of attaining peace than ever; because thereby, those persons now assembled at Oxford, who, contrary to their duty, have deserted your Parliament, are put into an equal condition with it. And this present Parliament, convened according to the known and fundamental laws of the kingdom—the continuance whereof is established by a law consented unto by your Majesty—is, in effect, denied to be a Parliament. And hereupon we think ourselves bound to let your Majesty know, that we must in duty, and accordingly are resolved, with our lives and fortunes, to defend and preserve the just rights and full power of this Parliament."²

The Assembly at Oxford lost all hope of effecting a reconciliation, and considered its continuance thenceforward to be useless. It sat, however, until the 16th of April, publishing long and gloomy declarations, voting some few taxes or loans,³ assailing with bitter reproaches the Houses at Westminster, and giving the

¹ March 3, 1644.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 213.

² March 9, 1644.—*Ibid.*, vol. iii. col. 214.

³ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 225; *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. pp. 416, 468.

King numerous proofs of devoted fidelity; but it was timid, inactive, and embarrassed by its own powerlessness, while, in order to retain at least some remnant of dignity, it was careful to manifest to the Court its earnest desire for the restoration of legal order and of peace. The King, who had been in dread of the influence of such advisers, soon began to consider them as troublesome as they were useless; and they were themselves tired of sitting in solemn conclave, without any definite object or advantageous result. After the strongest protestations that their wishes should regulate his conduct, Charles pronounced their adjournment;¹ and scarcely were the doors of their place of meeting closed, than he expressed his satisfaction to the Queen at having at length got rid of "that mongrel Parliament, the haunt of cowardly and seditious motions."²

The campaign, which was now about to open, seemed likely to commence under unfavourable auspices. Notwithstanding the inactivity of the two main armies, the war had continued throughout the winter in the rest of the kingdom, generally to the advantage of the Parliament. In the north-west, the regiments which had been recalled from Ireland, after six weeks of success, had been defeated and almost entirely destroyed by Fairfax under the walls of Nantwich, in Cheshire.³ In the north, the Scots, under the command of the Earl of Leven, had commenced their

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 243—247.

² He uses the words quoted in the text in a letter addressed to the Queen on the 13th of March, 1645. See Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 29.

³ On the 25th of January, 1644.—Fairfax's *Memoirs*, p. 71.

invading march into England, on the 19th of January, 1644. Lord Newcastle had hastened to encounter them; but during his absence, on the 11th of April, Fairfax had defeated a numerous body of Royalists at Selby:¹ and in order to secure York from attack, Newcastle was obliged to take up his quarters in that important city.² In the east, a new army of fourteen thousand men was in process of formation, under the command of Lord Manchester and Oliver Cromwell, who were ready to march wheresoever the necessities of their cause might require their presence. In the south, at Alresford, in Hampshire, on the 29th of March, Sir William Waller had gained an unexpected victory over Sir Ralph Hopton. A few advantages obtained by Prince Rupert, in Nottinghamshire and Lancashire,³ were insufficient to compensate for such multiplied defeats. Insubordination and disorder were on the increase in the royalist camps: honest men were filled with sorrow and disgust, to find that most of their comrades demanded unrestrained license as the reward for a courage utterly devoid of virtue; the King's authority over his generals, and the authority of his generals over their soldiers, daily decreased. In London, on the other hand, all the measures of the Parliamentarians became at once more regular and energetic; complaint had often been made that the action of the Houses was wanting in promptitude, that no resolution could be kept secret, and that the King

¹ Fairfax's *Memoirs*, p. 78.

² Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 620.

³ On the 22nd of March he raised the siege of Newark, and during the following April he took Papworth, Bolton, and Liverpool.

was immediately informed of their intentions. Under the name of the Committee of Both Kingdoms, a council composed of seven lords, fourteen members of the House of Commons, and four Scottish Commissioners, was invested with almost absolute control; not only over the war, but over the internal relations between the two peoples, and their correspondence with foreign States.¹ Enthusiasm had led many families to deprive themselves of one meal a-week, and to give the cost of it to the Parliament. On the 20th of March, an ordinance was issued converting this voluntary gift into a compulsory tax, payable by all the inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood.² Excise duties, till then unknown, were imposed on wine, cider, beer, tobacco, and many other commodities.³ The Committee of Sequestrations redoubled its severity.⁴ At the opening of the campaign, the Parliament had five armies on foot: those of Essex, Fairfax, and the Scots, which were paid out of the public treasury; and those of Manchester and Waller, which were supported by local contributions, levied weekly in those counties in which the troops were raised and recruited.⁵ The entire force amounted to

¹ This committee was appointed on the 16th of February, 1644.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 247.

² Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 748.

³ By ordinances of the 16th May, 1643, and the 8th July, 1644.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 114, 276.

⁴ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 174, 257; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 760.

⁵ The seven associated counties of the east—Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Lincoln, and Ely—were taxed 8,445*l.* per week for the maintenance of Lord Manchester's army. The four southern counties—Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent—were taxed

more than fifty thousand men,¹ and the Committee of Both Kingdoms had the whole body at their full disposal.

Notwithstanding the presumption which prevailed at Oxford, great anxiety was ere long manifested among the Cavaliers. Much astonishment was felt that they no longer received any precise information from London, and that the designs of the Parliament were kept so secret; it was only known that great preparations were making everywhere, that the supreme power was becoming concentrated in the hands of the boldest leaders, that decisive measures were in contemplation, and in a word, that matters were assuming a most sinister aspect. Suddenly the report spread that Essex and Waller had set their troops in movement, and were marching to besiege Oxford. The Queen, then seven months advanced in pregnancy, immediately declared that she would leave the place: in vain did some members of the Council venture to deplore the disastrous consequences of such a resolution; in vain did Charles himself manifest his anxiety that she should change her purpose: the mere idea of being

2,838*l.* per week for the support of Waller's army. The army under Lord Essex cost the public treasury 30,504*l.* per month. (Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 621, 654.) The army of the Scots cost 31,000*l.* per month. I have not been able to discover any precise estimate of the cost of Fairfax's army; there is, however, every indication that it was more irregularly paid than the others—partly perhaps by local contributions, and partly by the Parliament. See Fairfax's *Memoirs*.

¹ The Scottish army consisted of twenty-one thousand men; that of Essex of ten thousand five hundred; that of Waller of five thousand one hundred; that of Manchester of fourteen thousand; and that of Fairfax of five or six thousand; in all, about fifty-six thousand men.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 603, 621, 654.

shut up in a beleaguered town was, she said, unendurable, and she should die if she were not permitted to retire towards the west, to some town where she might be delivered in safety, far from the troubles of war, and whence she might embark for France, in case of pressing danger. Losing her temper at the slightest objection, she stormed, entreated, and wept. All withdrew their opposition; Exeter, the chief town of Devonshire, was chosen as her place of residence; and towards the end of April, she left her husband, who never saw her again.¹

The rumour which had filled her with such terror was well founded: Essex and Waller were, in fact, advancing to blockade Oxford. In the north, Fairfax, Manchester, and the Scots were to unite their forces, and lay siege to York. The two great Royalist towns and the two great Royalist armies, the King and Lord Newcastle, were thus to be attacked simultaneously, by all the forces of the Parliament. Such was the bold and simple plan which the Committee of Both Kingdoms had resolved to adopt.

Towards the end of May, Oxford was almost entirely blockaded; the King's troops had been driven in succession from all the posts which they occupied in the neighbourhood, and had been obliged to retire, some into the town, and others to their last remaining position outside the walls, on the northern side. It was impossible for any succour to arrive in time; Prince Rupert was far away in Lancashire; Prince Maurice was besieging the port of Lyme, in Dorset-

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 467.

shire; Lord Hopton was at Bristol, struggling hard to preserve that important city against the intrigues of the enemy. A reinforcement of eight thousand men, drafted from the London militia, enabled Essex to complete the blockade. The danger appeared so urgent that one of the King's most faithful councillors advised him to surrender, upon conditions, to the Earl. Charles indignantly rejected the proposal: "Possibly," he said, "I may be found in the hands of the Earl of Essex, but I shall be dead first."¹ A report, however, spread in London, that, not knowing how to escape, the King really intended to present himself abruptly in the City, or to place himself under the protection of the Lord-general. The alarm of the Commons was now as great as the King's indignation had been. Without loss of time, they wrote to Essex: "My Lord,—There being here a general report of his Majesty's coming to London, we desire your lordship to use your best endeavours to find the grounds of it; and if at any time you shall understand that his Majesty intends to repair hither, or to your army, that you presently acquaint the Houses, and do nothing therein without their advice." Essex felt all the distrust implied in these words: "How the general report is come," he wrote, "of his Majesty's coming to London, is utterly unknown to me. I shall not fail, with my best endeavours, to find the grounds of it; but London is the likeliest place to know it, there being no speech of it in this army. As soon as I shall have any notice of his intention of repairing to the

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. p. 485.

Parliament or the army, I shall not fail to give notice of it; and as I am your servant, I shall be ready at all times to obey your directions. For the business itself I cannot conceive there is any ground for it; but, however, I believe I shall be the last that shall hear of it."¹

A very different, but much more accurate report soon filled the Parliament and the army with surprise; the King had escaped their grasp. At nine o'clock in the evening of the 3rd of June, his Majesty, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, but leaving behind him the Duke of York and all his court, had left Oxford, passed through the two hostile camps, and, joining a body of light troops which awaited him on the northern side of the city, rapidly placed himself beyond the reach of his assailants.²

The surprise occasioned by this news was extreme, and the necessity of prompt resolution evident. The siege of Oxford had lost its importance; there was no longer any enterprise for the two armies to undertake in concert; now that he was at liberty, the King would soon be formidable; and it was particularly essential to prevent his rejoining Prince Rupert. Essex assembled a great council of war, and proposed that Waller, who was less encumbered with heavy artillery and baggage, should march in pursuit of the King, whilst he would himself proceed into the west, in order to raise the siege of Lyme, and to reduce

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 266. The letter from the Speaker to Essex is dated on May 15, 1644, and his answer on May 17.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 486; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 671.

that part of the country to obedience to the Parliament. Waller opposed this plan ; such was not, he said, the destination which the Committee of Both Kingdoms had assigned to the two armies, in case they should find it necessary to separate ; and the command in the west devolved by right upon him. The council of war concurred with the Lord-general ; Essex haughtily demanded acquiescence ; Waller obeyed, and even began his march without delay, but not until he had written to the Committee to complain bitterly of the contempt with which the Earl treated their instructions.¹

The Committee, in great irritation, brought the matter at once before the House of Commons ; and after a debate, of which no record has been preserved, orders were despatched to Essex to retrace his steps in order to resume the pursuit of the King, and to leave Waller to advance alone into the west, as he should have done in the first instance.²

The Earl had entered upon the campaign with no very pleasurable feelings. After having been intimidated for awhile by their dangers and his victories, his enemies had, during the winter, begun once more to assail him with suspicions, and to vex him with a thousand annoyances. A short time before his departure, a popular petition had demanded the reformation of his army, and the Commons had received it with no expressions of displeasure ;³ Waller's troops

¹ Whitelocke, p. 90 ; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 488.

² Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 672.

³ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 80.

were always better provided and more regularly paid than his own;¹ and it was evidently as a means of enabling the Parliament to dismiss him in case of need, that Lord Manchester had raised a new army in the eastern counties.² His friends in London and in his camp were indignant that a set of men at Westminster, utterly unacquainted with warfare, should presume to regulate the operations of a campaign, and to dictate the course to be pursued by their generals.³ Essex wrote to the Committee, "that their directions were contrary to the discipline of war and to reason; and that, if he should now return, it would be a great encouragement to the enemy in all places." He subscribed himself their "innocent, though suspected servant," and continued his march towards the west.⁴

The Committee, in surprise, postponed the quarrel and dissembled their anger: the enemies of Essex did not yet feel themselves strong enough to ruin him, or even to dispense with his services; they remained satisfied with inserting, in the answer which was sent him, a few words of reprimand for the tone of his letter;⁵ and he received orders to continue the expedition which the previous message had enjoined him to abandon.⁶

The news which had been received from Waller's

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 683; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 22.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 190.

³ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 90.

⁴ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 683; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 488.

⁵ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 683.

⁶ Ibid.; Whitelocke, p. 91.

army had mainly dictated this prudent conduct. After having vainly pursued the King, the favourite of the Committee was, in his turn, menaced with the utmost danger. As soon as Charles became aware that the two generals of the Parliament had separated, and that one only remained to encounter him, he halted in his flight, wrote to Prince Rupert to hasten without delay to the relief of York,¹ and with resolute boldness, returned along the road which he had traversed in his flight from Oxford. Seventeen days after he had quitted it, he re-entered that city, placed himself at the head of his troops, and resumed the offensive whilst Waller was still seeking for him in Worcestershire. On the first report of the King's movement, Waller hurried back in all haste, for he alone remained to cover the road to London; and ere long, having received some slight reinforcements, he advanced, with his usual confidence, to offer or at least accept battle. Charles and his troops, animated by that ardour which is produced by unexpected success after great peril, were even more eager to engage. The action took place on the 29th of June, at Cropredy Bridge, in Buckinghamshire; and notwithstanding a brilliant resistance, Waller was defeated, more completely than even his conquerors at first ventured to believe.²

Success seemed to inspire Charles with unusual boldness, and even with unexpected ability. Free

¹ His letter is dated on the 14th of June, 1644, from Tickenhall, near Bewdley, in Worcestershire. It will be found in the Appendix to Evelyn's Diary.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. pp. 500—505; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 675.

from anxiety on account of Waller, he suddenly resolved to march into the west, to force Essex to an engagement, and thus to destroy, one after the other, the two armies which had recently held him almost prisoner. Essex, moreover, had appeared beneath the walls of Exeter, and the Queen, (who was residing there, and had given birth to a child¹ only a few days before,) as she was as yet unaware of her husband's successes, was likely to fall again under the influence of all the terrors which had formerly beset her.² Charles began his march two days after his victory; and at the same time, rather with a desire to gain favour with the people than from any sincere wish for peace, he sent a message from Evesham to the two Houses, in which he abstained from giving them the name of Parliament, but was lavish of pacific protestations, and offered once more to open negotiations.³

But whilst he was hastening westward, and before his message reached London, the Parliamentarians had lost all fear; the aspect of affairs had changed; Waller's defeat had become an unimportant incident; for news had reached the Parliament that, not far from York, its generals had gained a most splendid victory, that York itself must speedily surrender, and that, in the north, the Royalist party was almost annihilated.

¹ The Princess Henrietta, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, was born at Exeter on the 16th of June, 1644.

² Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. p. 507; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 686.

³ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 687. The message is dated on the 4th of July, 1644.

On the 2nd of July, at Marston Moor, between the hours of seven and ten in the evening, a battle, the most decisive that had yet been fought, had brought about these important results. Three days before, on the approach of Prince Rupert, who was advancing towards York with twenty thousand men, the Parliamentarian generals had determined to raise the siege, hoping they would at least be able to prevent the Prince from throwing reinforcements into the city; but Rupert defeated their manœuvre, and entered York without a battle. Lord Newcastle earnestly advised him to rest satisfied with this success; discord, he said, was fermenting in the enemy's camp; the Scots were at variance with the English, the Independents with the Presbyterians, and Lieut.-General Cromwell with Major-General Crawford; at all events, if he were determined to fight, he entreated him to wait for a reinforcement of three thousand men, which would arrive in a few days. Rupert scarcely condescended to listen to him, but bluntly replied that he had orders from the King,¹ and commanded the troops to march in

¹ These orders were contained in the letter mentioned in a previous note, which enjoined him to hasten to the relief of York. It has been much questioned whether this letter positively ordered Prince Rupert to give battle, or whether he was left at liberty to avoid an action if he pleased; but the discussion is puerile, for assuredly if Rupert had thought, with Newcastle, that it was unwise to risk a battle, he would have been wrong to obey general orders sent from a distance, without any precise knowledge of the state of affairs in the north. Moreover, with all deference to the opinions of Mr. Brodie (*History of the British Empire*, vol. iii. p. 477), and Dr. Lingard (*History of England*, vol. x. p. 252), I am far from thinking that the King's letter does contain any positive order; it was evidently written under the conviction that the siege of York could not be raised without a battle; and it is on this ground only that a victory is declared to be indispensable. See Appendix V.

pursuit of the retreating enemy. They soon came up with the Parliamentary rear-guard; both armies halted, concentrated their forces, and prepared to fight. Though almost within musket-shot of each other, and separated only by a few ditches, the two armies remained motionless for two hours, each waiting silently for the other to begin the attack. Lord Newcastle asked the Prince what post he would assign him. Rupert replied that he should not fight that night; and Newcastle retired to his carriage to rest. He had scarcely reached it, when a volley of musketry informed him that the battle had begun; and he hastened to the scene of action, without any command, at the head of a few gentlemen who, like himself, had been slighted by the Prince, and fought as volunteers. In a few moments, the Moor presented a terrible aspect; the two armies attacked and charged each other almost at hap-hazard; Parliamentarians and Royalists, cavalry and infantry, officers and soldiers, wandered over the battle-field, singly or in bands, asking for orders, seeking their regiments, and fighting whenever they fell in with the enemy, but with no general design or advantageous result. Suddenly the right wing of the Parliamentarians was put to rout; broken and panic-stricken by a vigorous charge of Rupert's horse, the Scottish cavalry turned to fly. Fairfax strove in vain to rally them; the Scots fled in every direction, crying: "Wae's us! we're a' undone!" And they spread the news of their defeat so rapidly through the country, that, from Newark, a courier rode with the intelligence to Oxford, where bonfires were kept burning for some

hours, in celebration of the victory. But on their return from the pursuit, the Royalists, to their great surprise, found the ground they had so recently occupied, in the possession of a victorious enemy; whilst the Scottish cavalry was flying before them, the right wing, though commanded by Rupert in person, had met with a similar fate; after a desperate conflict, it had yielded to the dogged intrepidity of Cromwell and his squadrons; Manchester's infantry had completed its defeat; and satisfied with having routed the Prince's horse, Cromwell, skilfully rallying his own men, had returned at once to the field of battle, to make sure of the victory before he indulged in its results. After a moment's hesitation, the two victorious armies renewed the fight; but at ten o'clock, not a Royalist remained on the Moor, except three thousand slain and sixteen hundred prisoners.¹

Rupert and Lord Newcastle re-entered York in the middle of the night, without having interchanged a word, or even seen each other; but no sooner had they reached the city, than each sent the other a message. "I am resolved," stated Rupert, "to march away this morning with my horse, and as many foot as I have left." "I shall repair this instant to the sea-side," said Newcastle, "and transport myself beyond the seas." Each kept his word; Newcastle embarked at

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 631—640; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. pp. 509—513; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 53; Fairfax's *Memoirs*, p. 84; Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, p. 229; Whitelocke, pp. 93, 94; Carte's *Ormonde Letters*, vol. i. p. 56; Baillie's *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 36, 40; Warburton's *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, vol. ii. pp. 445—460.

Scarborough for Hamburg; Rupert marched towards Chester with the wreck of his army; and York capitulated within a fortnight.¹

The Independent party were filled with joy and hope; it was by their generals, and by their soldiers, that this brilliant success had been achieved; Cromwell's genius had decided the victory; for the first time, the Parliamentarian squadrons had broken the ranks of the Cavaliers, and this had been done by the saints of the army, the Cromwellian horse. With their general, they had received the name of Ironsides on the field of battle. Prince Rupert's own standard,² publicly exhibited at Westminster, bore witness to their triumph; and they might have sent the Parliament more than a hundred Royalist flags, if they had not torn them in pieces, in their enthusiasm, to decorate their helmets and arms.³ Essex had gained two victories, but he had seemed to fight from compulsion, in order to save the Parliament from imminent destruction, and with no other result; the saints had sought battle, and were not afraid of victory. Should the Scots, who had displayed such cowardice on that great day, presume henceforward to subject all believers to their Presbyterian tyranny? Would any one now

¹ On the 16th of July, 1644.—Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. p. 513.

² In the middle of this standard was a couchant lion, and behind him a mastiff attempting to bite him; from the mastiff's mouth came a streamer on which the name of *Kimbolton* was written; at his feet were several little curs, before whose mouths was written *Pym, Pym, Pym*; from the lion's jaws these words issued, *Quousque tandem abuteris patientia nostra?*

³ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 635.

venture to speak of peace as a necessity? Victory and liberty were alone necessary; they must be purchased at any price; and that blessed work of reform must be carried to its full extent, which had been imperilled so often by selfish or timid men, and so often saved by the strong arm of the Lord. Such language was everywhere to be heard; everywhere did the Independents, whether freethinkers or fanatics, citizens, preachers, or soldiers, give open expression to their passions and aspirations; and in all their speeches the name of Cromwell was introduced, for he was more vehement than all others in his expressions, and was already regarded as most skilful in the contrivance of deep designs. "My Lord," he said one day to Manchester, in whom his party still reposed great confidence, "be wholly one of us; say no more that we must hold ourselves open to peace, keep on good terms with the Lords, and fear the refusal of Parliament; what have we to do with peace and the Lords? It will never be well with England till you are plain Mr. Montague, and there is ne'er a lord or peer in the kingdom; if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall soon find yourself at the head of an army which shall give the law to both King and Parliament."¹

But, notwithstanding the audacity of his hopes, Cromwell himself had no idea how near at hand was the triumph of his party, or how sad a fate was speedily to befall the adversary whom he most dreaded.

¹ Hollis's *Memoirs*, p. 18. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 14.

Essex had continued to advance into the west, unaware of the dangers that were collecting behind him, and led onwards by constant and easy victories. In three weeks, he had raised the siege of Lyme, occupied Weymouth, Barnstaple, Tiverton, and Taunton, and dispersed, almost without a conflict, the various Royalist bodies which attempted to impede his progress. As he drew near to Exeter, the Queen sent to request a safe-conduct, that she might go to Bath or Bristol, to regain her strength, after her confinement. "If your Majesty pleases," replied Essex, "I will not only give you safe-conduct, but wait upon you myself to London, where you may have the best advice and means for restoring your health; but as for either of the other places, I cannot obey your Majesty's desire, without directions from the Parliament."¹ Filled with terror, the Queen fled to Falmouth, where she embarked for France, on the 14th of July; and Essex continued his march. He was still within sight of Exeter, when he learned that the King, having defeated Waller, was advancing rapidly against him, and collecting on his road all the forces at his command. A council of war was immediately called; the question to be decided was, whether they should continue their march and establish their position in Cornwall, or turn back to meet the King, and offer him battle. Essex inclined towards the latter alternative; but several officers, among others Lord Roberts, a friend of Sir Harry Vane, possessed large estates in Cornwall, from which they had long been unable to derive any income; and they

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol ii. p. 684; Whitelocke, p. 93.

reckoned on this expedition to obtain payment from their tenants. They, therefore, opposed all idea of return, declaring that the people of Cornwall, who had long been oppressed by the Royalists, would rise at the approach of the army, and that Essex would thus have the honour of depriving the King of a county which had hitherto been his firmest support.¹ Essex allowed himself to be persuaded, and plunged into the wilds of Cornwall, sending, at the same time, to London for reinforcements. The people did not rise in his favour, provisions were scarce, and the King was already close upon him. He wrote again to London, that his position was becoming dangerous, and that it was absolutely necessary that Waller, or some other commander, by falling on the rear of the King's army, should enable him to extricate his troops. The Committee of both kingdoms loudly lamented his misfortune, and appeared to be animated by an earnest desire to succour him; public prayers were offered up on his behalf;² orders were sent to Waller, to Middleton, and even to Manchester, who had returned from the north with part of his army, to hasten to the Earl's assistance. The generals, in their turn, manifested the utmost ardour. Waller wrote to desire that supplies of men and money might be sent him without delay: "I call the God of heaven to witness," he said, "that it is not my fault that I am not gone already to assist the Lord-general; and I wish the blood and infamy

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 524; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 690.

² On the 13th of August, 1644.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 697.

may rest on the heads of them that lay obstructions in my way. If money cannot be had, I will march without it." But he did not march. Middleton used similar language, and put his troops in motion, but halted at the first obstacle. No corps was detached from Manchester's army.¹ Rendered confident by the victory of Marston Moor, the Independent leaders, Vane, St. John, Ireton, and Cromwell, were willing to purchase, by a signal defeat, the ruin of their enemy.

They had no conception that, at that very moment, in his deep distress, Essex probably held their fate in his hands. On the 6th of August, at his head-quarters at Lostwithiel, a letter from the King was delivered to him, expressive of the utmost esteem, full of the fairest promises, and urging him to restore peace to his country. Lord Beauchamp, the Earl's nephew, was the bearer of the message; and several colonels in his army seemed favourable to it.² But Essex would give no answer: "The best advice I can give the King," he said, "is to go to his Parliament." Charles did not insist; perhaps even, notwithstanding the disaster of Marston Moor, he was still far from desiring the intervention of such a mediator. But he was surrounded by many earnest advocates of peace; a spirit of independence and inquiry was spreading among the Royalists; the kingly name no longer exercised its old influence over them; and in their private meetings,

¹ Whitelocke, pp. 101, 102; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 55.

² Among others, Colonels Weare and Butler.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 710.

many officers freely discussed public affairs, and gave expression to their own wishes. Persuaded that Essex had rejected every overture merely because he put no faith in the King's promises, they resolved to make proposals to him in their own name, and to invite him to treat with them. The Lords Wilmot and Percy, who commanded the cavalry and artillery in the King's army, were at the head of this design; the former was a reckless and witty Cavalier, an inveterate drinker, and a favourite with the army on account of the jovial affability of his disposition; the latter was cold and haughty, but he was bold in speech, and kept a good table, to which his brother officers were always welcome. On being informed of their project, and that a letter was circulating in their name, Charles was exceedingly indignant; but the intention found favour even with those who blamed the means adopted for effecting it. The King, not daring to prohibit, thought it best to approve; the letter became an official document, authorized by his sanction, and it was signed by Prince Maurice and the Earl of Brentford, General-in-chief of his army, as well as by its original authors. On the 9th of August, a trumpeter was despatched with it to the enemy's camp. "My Lords," wrote Essex in reply, "in the beginning of your letter, you express by what authority you send it. I, having no power from the Parliament, who employed me, to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of trust. Your humble servant, Essex." This dry refusal greatly irritated the Royalists; all further attempts at negotiation were abandoned. Wilmot

deprived of their commands; and
led their course.¹

found himself in a desperate position;
the fight every day, but he fell daily into
traps; his soldiers were thoroughly weary,
piracies were rife in their ranks;² the King
nearer and nearer to his lines, and threw up
works in every direction. Already the Earl's
army had not space enough to collect forage; he
maintained scarcely any free communication with the sea,
the only way by which he could procure supplies of
provisions; and at last, towards the end of August,
he was so closely surrounded that, from the neigh-
bouring heights, the Royalists could see all that was
passing in his camp. In this extremity, he gave orders
to his cavalry, under the command of Sir William
Balfour, to make their way as they best could, through
the enemy's lines; and with the infantry, he began
his march towards Fowey harbour. Under favour of
the night and a thick fog, the cavalry succeeded in
passing between two Royalist divisions; but the in-
fantry, proceeding along narrow and heavy roads,
pursued by the King's whole army, and compelled
to abandon their artillery and baggage, soon lost
all hope of safety. A capitulation was loudly recom-
mended. In great dejection and perplexity, anxious
to escape so bitter a humiliation, Essex, without
consulting any one, and accompanied by two officers

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 691—697; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. pp. 537—539.

² Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 698.

only,¹ suddenly quitted his camp, gained the coast, and embarked for Plymouth, leaving his army under the command of Major-General Skippon.²

As soon as his departure became known, Skippon called a council of war. "Gentlemen," he said, "you see our general and some chief officers have thought fit to leave us, and our horse are got away; we are left alone upon our defence. That which I propound to you is this, that we, having the same courage as our horse had, and the same God to assist us, may make the same trial of our fortunes, and endeavour to make our way through our enemies, as they have done; and account it better to die with honour and faithfulness, than to live dishonourably." But Skippon was unable to animate the council with his own heroism. Many officers in that army, though brave and faithful, were moderate Presbyterians, and, like Lord Essex, were melancholy and despondent. The King proposed to them a capitulation, on better terms than they had ventured to hope for; he required only that the artillery, arms, and ammunition should be given up; all the men, both officers and soldiers, were to remain at liberty, and were even to be conducted in safety to the nearest Parliamentary quarters. These conditions were accepted on the 1st of September; and under the escort of the Royalist horse, the Parliamentary battalions retraced their steps, without a

¹ These were Sir John Merrick, who commanded the artillery, and Lord Roberts, who had persuaded Essex to enter Cornwall.

² Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 699—703; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. pp. 545—547; Whitelocke, p. 102.

general and without arms, through those counties which they had so recently traversed as conquerors.¹

In the meanwhile, Essex had landed at Plymouth, and written to inform the Parliament of his disaster. "It is the greatest blow," he said, "that ever befel our party; I desire nothing more than to come to the trial; such losses as these must not be smothered up."² A week after, he received the following answer from London: "My Lord, the Committee of both kingdoms having acquainted the Houses of Parliament with your Lordship's letters from Plymouth, they have commanded us to let you know that, as they apprehended the misfortune of that accident, and submit to God's pleasure therein, so their good affections to your Lordship, and their opinion of your fidelity and merit in the public service, is not at all lessened. And they have resolved not to be wanting in their best endeavours for repairing of this loss, and drawing together such a strength under your command as may, with the blessing of God, restore our affairs to a better condition than they are now in; to which purpose they have written to the Earl of Manchester to march with all possible speed towards Dorchester, with all the forces he can of horse and foot. Sir William Waller is likewise ordered to march speedily unto Dorchester, with all his horse and foot. The House have appointed six thousand foot-arms, five hundred pairs of pistols, and six thousand suits of

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 704—709; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. pp. 547, 548.

² Essex to Sir Philip Stapleton; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 703.

clothes, shirts, &c. to meet your Lordship at Plymouth, for the arming and encouragement of your forces. And they are confident your Lordship's presence in those parts, for bringing the forces together into a body, and disposing of them, will very much conduce to the public advantage."¹

The Earl's surprise was extreme; he had expected impeachment, or at all events, severe censure; but his fidelity had so recently been proved, the extent of the disaster was so great, and the necessity of presenting an imposing front to the enemy was so imperious, that all the waverers joined his partizans, and his opponents abstained from attacking him. Essex, embarrassed by misfortune and mistake, no longer seemed to them a formidable antagonist; they knew him well, and foresaw that ere long, in order to spare his dignity such violent assaults, he would voluntarily resign his office. Until that moment arrived, by treating him with honour, they manifested their own energy; an awkward inquiry into the secret causes of the disaster would be avoided, and the most earnest advocates of peace would now be engaged in a new effort for continuing the war. As politic as they were earnest, the Independent leaders remained silent; and the Parliament seemed unanimous in bearing this great reverse with courageous dignity.

This activity and firmness of attitude at first checked the King's movements; he sent a pacific message to

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 708; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 289. The letter is dated on the 7th of September, 1644, and signed by the Speakers of both Houses.

both Houses, and then spent three weeks in presenting himself before various towns, Plymouth, Lyme, and Portsmouth, which refused to surrender; but towards the end of September, he learned that Montrose, who had long promised him a civil war in Scotland, had at length succeeded in kindling it, and was already advancing from triumph to triumph. After the battle of Marston Moor, in the disguise of a servant, and with only two companions, Montrose had crossed the Scottish frontier on foot, and proceeded to Strathern, the residence of his cousin, Patrick Grahame of Inchbrackie, at the entrance of the Highlands, there to await the landing of the Irish auxiliaries whom Antrim had promised to send him. By day he remained in concealment; at night he wandered through the neighbouring mountains, personally collecting, from place to place, the reports of his confidants. Ere long, news reached him that the Irish bands had landed on the 8th of July, and were advancing into the country, pillaging and ravaging as they went, but not knowing whither to march, and seeking anxiously for the general who had been promised them. They had nearly reached Athol, when Montrose, in Highland costume and with a single attendant, suddenly appeared in their camp; they immediately acknowledged him as their leader. At the news of his arrival, several clans hastened to join him. Without losing a moment, he led them on to battle, expecting everything from their courage, and withholding nothing from their rapacity. In a fortnight, he had gained two bat-

ties,¹ occupied Perth, taken Aberdeen by storm, raised most of the northern clans to revolt, and spread terror to the very gates of Edinburgh.

On hearing this news, Charles believed that the disaster of Marston Moor was repaired, that the Parliament would soon meet once more with a powerful adversary in the north, and that he might himself fearlessly pursue the course of his successes in the south. He resolved to march upon London; and to give his expedition the appearance of a popular and decisive measure, at the moment of his departure, he issued a proclamation calling upon all his subjects in the southern and eastern counties to rise in arms, to choose their own officers, and to join him on his road, that they might aid him in requiring the Parliament to accept propositions of peace.²

But the Houses had taken their measures; the combined forces of Manchester, Waller, and Essex already covered the western approaches to London; never had the Parliament possessed so large a force at one single point; and on the first rumour of the King's approach, five regiments of the London militia, under the command of Sir James Harrington, marched out to join the main army. At the same time, new taxes were imposed; the Commons resolved that the royal plate, which until then had been preserved in the Tower, should be melted down for the public service. And when it was known that the two armies were in

¹ At Tippermuir, on the 1st of September, and at Dee Bridge, on the 12th of the same month.

² This proclamation is dated from Chard, September, 1644.—Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 715.

presence, the shops were shut, the people thronged to the churches, and a solemn fast was ordained to invoke the blessing of the Lord on the impending battle.¹

In the camp as in the city, a battle was daily expected; Essex alone, from illness and dejection, remained motionless in London, though he was still invested with the command. On learning that he had not left town, the House appointed a committee to wait upon him, and assure him of their undiminished confidence and affection. Essex thanked the Commissioners, but did not join his army.² The battle was fought in his absence, on the 27th of October, at Newbury, almost on the same ground where, during the previous year, on his return from Gloucester, he had won so glorious a victory. Lord Manchester commanded in his stead. The action was long and bloody; the soldiers of Essex, in particular, performed prodigies of valour; at sight of the cannon which they had recently lost in Cornwall, they rushed upon the royal batteries, recaptured their guns, and as they brought them back to their own lines, kissed them with transports of joy. Some of Manchester's regiments, on the other hand, suffered a rather severe repulse. For a moment, both parties claimed the victory; but, on the next morning, the King, giving up his designs upon London, commenced his retreat, in order to take up his winter-quarters at Oxford.³

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 719, 720; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 294, 295, 308.

² Whitelocke, p. 108; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 205.

³ Whitelocke, pp. 108, 109; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion,

Meanwhile the Parliament was almost silent about its victory ; no thanksgiving service was celebrated ; and on the 30th of October, the day after the news of the victory had reached London, the monthly fast appointed by both Houses took place as usual, as though there had been no ground for public rejoicing. The people were astonished at this want of enthusiasm. Ere long, however, unsatisfactory rumours began to spread : the victory, it was said, might have been made much more decisive ; but dissensions prevailed among the Generals ; they had allowed the King to retreat unopposed, almost within sight of their army, on a clear moonlight night, when the slightest movement would have been sufficient to prevent it. Soon, further intelligence arrived that the King had appeared again in the neighbourhood of Newbury, and that, on the 9th of November, he had been allowed to remove his artillery from Donnington Castle, and had even offered to renew the battle, without rousing the Parliamentary army from its shameful inactivity.¹ The clamour now became general ; the House of Commons ordered an inquiry. Cromwell eagerly seized this opportunity to break out : " All the blame," he said, " must be laid on the Earl of Manchester. He has betrayed the Parliament out of cowardice. Since the taking of York, he hath declined whatever tended to further advantage upon the enemy, as if he thought

vol. iv. pp. 582—589 ; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, pp. 55—57 ; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 296 ; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 721—730.

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 729—732 ; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. pp. 590, 591.

the King too low and the Parliament too high. At the King's being last at Newbury, when he drew off his cannon, he might very easily have defeated his whole army. I went to the Earl, and showed him evidently how it might be done ; and desired him that he would give me leave, with my own brigade of horse, to charge the King's army in their retreat. But, notwithstanding all importunity used by me and other officers, he positively and obstinately refused to consent ; giving no other reason but that, even if we overthrew the King's army, he would soon have another to keep up the war ; whereas, if we were overthrown, there was an end of our pretensions, we should all be rebels and traitors, and be executed and forfeited by law." These last words produced a great sensation in the House, for it could not endure the lawfulness of its resistance to be called in question. On the next day, in the Upper House, Manchester answered the attack, explained his conduct and language, and accused Cromwell, in his turn, of insubordination, falsehood, and even treachery or perfidy ; for, he said, on the day of battle, neither he nor his regiment had appeared at the post assigned to them. Cromwell took no notice of this recrimination, but merely repeated his accusations with additional violence.¹

The Presbyterians were in great agitation ; for a long while they had regarded Cromwell's policy with feelings of alarm. First of all, they had seen him flattering and

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 732—736 ; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 297 ; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 58 ; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 18 ; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. pp. 13—15.

fawning upon Manchester, losing no opportunity of extolling him at the expense of Essex, and gradually acquiring more influence in his army than the earl himself possessed. He had made it the resort of the Independents and other sectaries, who were equally hostile to the Covenant and the King: under his protection, fanatical license prevailed in its ranks; all taught, prayed, and preached as they pleased, and with no authority but their own caprice. In vain, with a view to counterbalance Cromwell's influence, had Colonel Skeldon Crawford, a rigid Presbyterian, and a Scotsman by birth, been appointed Major-General of the army. All Crawford had done had been foolishly to accuse Cromwell of cowardice; and Cromwell, ever watchful to discover the faults of his opponent, to render him unpopular with the soldiers, and to denounce him to the people and Parliament, had soon rendered him incapable of doing him injury.¹

Emboldened by this success, and by the evident progress of his party, he had openly declared himself the advocate of liberty of conscience, and had even obtained from the House, with the help of the free-thinkers and philosophers, the appointment of a committee for the purpose of inquiring how they might best unite with the Dissenters, or how "tender consciences, who could not in all things submit to the common rule which might be established, might be borne with consistently with Scripture, and the public peace."²

¹ Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. pp. 40, 41, 42, 49, 57, 60, 66, 69; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 15.

² On the 13th of September, 1644.—Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. pp. 57, 61; Commons' Journals, vol. iii. p. 625.

He now attacked Manchester himself, spoke insultingly of the Scots, boasted that he would triumph without their aid, and even that he would drive them from England, if, in their turn, they ventured on oppressive measures ; in a word, he carried his audacity so far, as to attack the throne, the Lords, indeed, all the ancient and legal institutions of the country.¹ Irritated and alarmed, the Presbyterian leaders, the moderate politicians, the Scottish Commissioners — Hollis, Stapleton, Merrick, Glynn, and their adherents—met at Essex House to devise means for defeating so dangerous an enemy. After a long conference, they resolved to consult Whitelocke and Maynard, two eminent lawyers of great reputation in the House, and whom they had reason to believe favourable to their cause. They were sent for by the Lord-General, late at night ; and no intimation was given them of the business on which they were summoned. They came in some anxiety, for the whole affair was to them surrounded with great mystery. After some preliminary compliments, Lord Loudoun, the Chancellor of Scotland, thus addressed them : “ Gentlemen, you know very well that Lieutenant-General Cromwell is no friend of ours ; and since the advance of our army into England, he hath used all underhand and cunning means to take off from our honour and merit in this kingdom. He is also no well-wisher to his Excellency the Lord-General, whom you and we all have cause to love and honour ; and if he be permitted to go on in

¹ Whitelocke, p. 116 ; Lords' Journals, vol. vii. p. 76 ; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 27.

his ways, it may, I fear, endanger the whole business. You are well acquainted with the accord between the two kingdoms, and the union by the Solemn League and Covenant; and if any be an incendiary between the two nations, how is he to be proceeded against? By our law in Scotland, we call him an *incendiary* who kindleth coals of contention, and raiseth differences in the State to the public damage; and we desire your opinions, whether your law be the same or not, and whether Lieutenant-General Cromwell be not such an incendiary, and what way would be best to proceed against him, if he be proved to be so."

The two lawyers looked at each other in surprise; all were anxious for their answer. After waiting in silence for a few moments, Whitelocke spoke. "I see none of this honourable company," he said, "is pleased to discourse further on these points, and therefore, not to detain you longer, I shall, with submission to your Excellency and to these honourable Commissioners of Scotland, declare freely and humbly my opinion upon those particulars which have been so clearly proposed by my Lord Chancellor. The sense of the word *incendiary* is the same with us as by the law of Scotland; but whether Lieutenant-General Cromwell be such an incendiary, cannot be known but by proofs of his particular words or actions, tending to the kindling of the fires of contention betwixt the two nations, and raising of differences between us. In the first place, I take it that my Lord-General and my Lords the Commissioners of Scotland, being persons of so great honour and authority, must not appear in any business,

especially of an accusation, unless you see beforehand it will be clearly made out. Next, as to the person who is to be accused, I take Lieutenant-General Cromwell to be a gentleman of quick and subtle parts, and one who hath (especially of late) gained no small interest in the House of Commons ; nor is he wanting of friends in the House of Peers, nor of abilities in himself to manage his own part of defence to the best advantage. I have not yet heard any particulars mentioned by his Excellency, nor by my Lord Chancellor or any other, nor do I know any in my private observations, which will amount to a clear proof of such matters as will satisfy the House of Commons that Lieutenant-General Cromwell is an incendiary, and should be punished accordingly. I apprehend it to be doubtful, and therefore cannot advise that, at this time, he should be accused ; but rather that direction may be given to collect such particular passages relating to him, by which your Lordships may judge whether they will amount to prove him an incendiary or not. And this being done, we may again wait on your Excellency, if you please ; and upon view of those proofs we shall be the better able to advise, and your Lordship to judge, what will be fit to be done in this matter."

Maynard concurred with Whitelocke, adding that the word *incendiary* was seldom used in English law, and would give rise to much uncertainty. Hollis, Stapleton, and Merrick strongly urged their plan, stating that Cromwell had not so much influence in the House as was supposed, and that they would will-

ingly undertake to impeach him; and they quoted many actions and sayings of his, which, they said, clearly proved his designs. But the Scottish Commissioners refused to engage in the quarrel. At about two o'clock in the morning, Maynard and Whitelocke withdrew, and the conference had no other result than to lead Cromwell to hasten his measures, for "some false brethren," says Whitelocke, though it probably was Whitelocke himself, "informed him of all that passed."¹

Essex and his friends now sought another remedy for the evil which threatened them: all their thoughts turned towards peace. The Houses had never positively ceased to discuss the possibility of a pacific arrangement: at one time, a formal motion had produced a debate in which the fate of the country was decided by the single vote of the Speaker;² at other times, the ambassadors of France and Holland, who were incessantly travelling between Oxford and London, had offered their mediation; but the offer, made without sincerity, had always been evaded, and had only caused embarrassment to both parties.³ So many persons were desirous of peace, that no one would have

¹ Whitelocke, pp. 116, 117; Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. col. 546.

² On the 29th of March, 1644, on a motion that a committee should be appointed to examine the offers of mediation by the Dutch Ambassador, the House divided equally, and the Speaker gave his casting vote in the negative.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 253.

³ The Dutch ambassadors offered the mediation of the States General on the 20th of March, the 12th of July, and the 7th of November, 1644. The Count d'Harcourt, ambassador of France, who arrived in London in July, 1644, had audience of the Parliament on the 14th of August, and left England in February, 1645.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 252, 263, 278, 285, 293, 298, 314; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv. pp. 325—328.

ventured to oppose it openly; and for more than six months, a committee of members of both Houses and Scottish Commissioners, had been engaged in framing propositions on the subject. The Presbyterian party suddenly became anxious to bring the labours of this committee to an end: in a few days, the propositions were laid before the Houses for discussion, and adopted;¹ and on the 20th of November, nine commissioners set out to present them to the King. They believed that he was at Wallingford, and proceeded thither accordingly; but after keeping them waiting for two hours, during which he raised all sorts of quibbling objections to their mission, safe-conduct, and retinue, the governor, Colonel Blake, at last admitted them, to tell them that the King was not there, and that they would probably find him at Oxford. They wished to remain at Wallingford for the night; but so angry a conversation soon sprang up between Blake and Lord Denbigh, the president of the commission, Blake's language was so violent, and the attitude of the garrison so threatening, that they considered it advisable to withdraw without delay. The next day, on arriving near Oxford, they halted on a small eminence, at a short distance from the city, and sent a trumpeter to announce their arrival to the governor. Some hours passed, but no answer was returned. Meanwhile the King, walking in his garden, perceiving the group formed by the Commissioners and their retinue on the hill, inquired who they were, and

¹ On the 8th of November, 1644; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 299.

on being informed, sent Mr. Killigrew at once with orders to bring them into the town, to provide them with suitable accommodation, and to express his regret that they had been kept waiting so long. As they passed through the streets of Oxford, under the escort of a few Cavaliers, the mob crowded around them, loaded them with insults, and even pelted them with stones and mud. They were taken to a miserable inn, but they had scarcely established themselves in their new quarters, before a violent tumult arose near their apartments. Hollis and Whitelocke went out at once to inquire the cause, and found that some Royalist officers had entered the hall of the inn, and begun to quarrel with the Commissioners' servants, calling them and their masters "rogues, rebels, and traitors," and refusing to allow them to come near the fire. Hollis seized one of the officers by the collar, shook him roughly, and pushed him out of the hall, telling him he ought to be ashamed of his conduct. Whitelocke did the same; the doors of the inn were closed; and the governor sent a guard to prevent further disturbances. During the evening, several members of the council, Hyde among others, called upon the Commissioners, apologized for the disorderly conduct of the Royalists, and expressed their earnest desire to co-operate with them in obtaining peace; and the King sent word that he would give them audience on the following day.¹

The audience was of short duration. Lord Denbigh

¹ On the 2nd of November, 1644; Whitelocke, pp. 112, 113; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 310.

read aloud, in presence of the Council and Court, the propositions agreed on by the Parliament; they were of such a character that the King could not have been expected to accept them; he was called upon to submit his authority to the control of a suspicious Parliament, and to surrender his party to its vengeance. More than once an angry murmur broke from the assembled Cavaliers; and especially when Lord Denbigh named Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, who were standing near the King, as excluded from any amnesty, the courtiers could hardly restrain their laughter; but the King, turning towards them with a severe look, imposed silence on all, and continued to listen with great patience and gravity. When Lord Denbigh had finished reading, the King inquired: "Have you power to treat?" "We have not," replied the Earl: "our commission was to present the propositions, and to desire your answer in writing." "You shall have it as soon as possible," said Charles; and the Commissioners returned to their lodgings.¹

On the same evening, with the consent of their colleagues, Hollis and Whitelocke paid a visit to Lord Lindsey, a gentleman of the King's bed-chamber, and an old friend of theirs, whose wounds had prevented him from calling upon them. They had scarcely been with him a quarter of an hour, when the King entered, and saluted them with great politeness: "I am sorry, gentlemen," he said, "that you could bring me no better propositions for peace, nor more reasonable than these are." "They are such, sir," returned Hollis,

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 310.

“ as the Parliament thought fit to agree upon, and I hope a good issue may be had out of them.” The King: “ I know you could bring no other than what they would send; but I confess I do not a little wonder at some of them. Surely you yourselves cannot think them to be reasonable, or honourable for me to grant.” Hollis: “ Truly, sir, I could have wished that some of them had been otherwise than they are; but your Majesty knows that those things are all carried by the major vote.” The King: “ I know they are, and am confident that you who are here, and your friends (I must not say your party) in the House, endeavoured to have had them otherwise; for I know you are well-willers to peace.” Whitelocke: “ I have had the honour to attend your Majesty often heretofore upon this errand, and am sorry it was not to better effect.” The King: “ I wish, Mr. Whitelocke, that others had been of your judgment and of Mr. Hollis’s judgment, and then, I believe, we had had an happy end of our differences before now. I do earnestly desire peace myself; and in order to it, and out of the confidence I have in you two that are here with me, I ask your opinion and advice, what answer will be best for me to give at this time to your propositions, which may probably further such a peace as all good men desire.” Hollis: “ Your Majesty will pardon us if we are not capable in our present condition to advise your Majesty.” Whitelocke: “ We now by accident have the honour to be in your Majesty’s presence; but our present employment disables us from advising your Majesty, if we were

otherwise able to do it, in this particular." The King: "For your abilities, I am able to judge; and I now look not on you in your employments from the Parliament; but as friends and my private subjects, I require your advice." Hollis: "Sir, to speak in a private capacity, your Majesty sees that we have been very free; and touching your answer I shall say further, that I think the best answer would be your own coming amongst us." The King: "How can I come thither with safety?" Hollis: "I am confident there would be no danger to your person to come away directly to your Parliament." The King: "That may be a question; but I suppose your principals, who sent you hither, will expect a present answer to your message." Whitelocke: "The best present and most satisfactory answer, I humbly believe, would be your Majesty's presence with your Parliament." The King: "Let us pass by that, and let me desire you two, Mr. Hollis and Mr. Whitelocke, to go into the next room, and a little to confer together, and to set down somewhat in writing which you apprehend may be fit for me to return in answer to your message, and which in your judgments may facilitate and promote this good work of peace." Hollis: "We shall obey your Majesty's command."

They then proceeded into an adjoining room; and after some hesitation, Whitelocke, carefully disguising his handwriting, drew up the opinion which the King had requested of them; then, leaving the paper on the table, they returned into the other room. The King then went alone into the room they had

just left, took the paper, came back with it, and then, bidding the Commissioners farewell "with much favour and civility," left them with Lord Lindsey. They returned soon after to their inn, and carefully abstained from informing their colleagues of what had passed.¹

Three days after, on the 27th of November, the King sent for the Commissioners, and gave Lord Denbigh a sealed paper, without any address. "This is my answer," he said; "you may deliver it to them that sent you." Surprised at this unusual form of proceeding, and at finding the King so obstinate in his refusal to give the name of Parliament to the Houses at Westminster, the Earl requested permission to retire for a moment with his colleagues, to deliberate on the course they would have to pursue. "Why deliberate?" said the King; "you have no power to treat; you told me so when you arrived, and I know you have had no post from London since." Lord Denbigh persisted in his demand, alleging that the Commissioners might possibly have some observations to make to his Majesty on his answer. "I will hear anything you have to deliver from London," said the King sharply, "but by your favour, none of the fancies and chimeras you have taken up at Oxford; you shall put no tricks on me." "Sir," replied the Earl, "we are not persons to put tricks upon any, much less upon your Majesty." "I mean it not to you," said Charles, apologetically. Lord Denbigh

¹ Whitelocke, p. 113; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 38.

then begged the King to inform him to whom the paper was addressed. "It is my answer," said Charles, "I give it to you, and you must take it, though it were a ballad, or a song of Robin Hood." "The business about which we come," said the Earl, "is of somewhat more consequence than that song." "I know it," replied the King; "but you told me twice you had no power to treat; my memory is as good as yours; you were only to deliver the propositions; a postilion might have done as much as you." "That is not our condition," returned Lord Denbigh, "though I would be glad, in these distracted times, to do service to your Majesty and the kingdom in any condition." "I mean it not to your persons," explained Charles; "but once more, this is my answer; you must take it; I am not bound to answer anything more." The conversation became warmer every moment. Hollis and Pierrepont endeavoured in vain to induce the King to say that his message was addressed to the two Houses. The Commissioners at length determined to receive it in the form in which it was offered, and took their leave. In the evening, Mr. Ashburnham, one of the King's attendants, came to them. "His Majesty," he said, "is sensible some words may have fallen from him in his passion that might give discontent; it was not so intended by him, and he desires that the best construction may be made of it." The Commissioners assured him they would pay the most respectful deference to the words of the King, and returned to London, accompanied by a trumpeter, who was sent to receive the answer of the

Parliament to the sealed paper of which they were the bearers.¹

It merely contained a request for a safe-conduct for the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, by whom the King promised to send an express and detailed answer in a few days. The safe-conduct was immediately granted; the two lords arrived in London on the 14th of December; and on the 16th, they had an audience of the Parliament. They brought no answer as yet; their official mission was limited to a request that conferences should be opened, and commissioners appointed on both sides to treat of peace. But after they had delivered this message, they remained in London; the report spread that large numbers of suspected persons were arriving; and several members of both Houses had frequent interviews with the two lords. The Common Council, in which the Independents were predominant, manifested the utmost alarm. The two lords were urged to leave London; but they still lingered under frivolous pretexts. The general agitation increased; the passions of the people threatened to break loose before party intrigues could be brought to a successful issue. At length, at the entreaty of even the friends of peace, the two lords returned to Oxford, on the 24th of December; and three weeks after their departure, it

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 843; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 309—312; Whitelocke, pp. 114, 115. Lord Denbigh's report and Whitelocke's narrative, though both were eye-witnesses, differ on several important points; but these may be explained by the official character of the former of the documents, which was evidently prepared by the Commissioners to suit the House and the occasion. Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 309.

was agreed that forty commissioners—twenty-three to represent the Parliaments of the two kingdoms, and seventeen to be appointed by the King—should meet at Uxbridge formally to discuss the conditions of a treaty.¹

But whilst the Presbyterians were thus preparing the way for peace, the Independents were rendering war inevitable. On the 9th of December, the House of Commons met to take into consideration the sufferings of the kingdom, and to devise some means of relief. No one rose to speak; all seemed to await some decisive measure, for which none were willing to be responsible. After a long period of silence, Cromwell stood up, and spoke to this effect: "It is now a time to speak, or for ever hold the tongue. The important occasion now is no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay almost dying condition, which the long continuance of this war hath already brought it into; so that without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war,—casting off all lingering proceedings like those of soldiers-of-fortune beyond sea, to spin out a war,—we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament.

"For what do the enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the Parliament? Even this, That the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands; and, what by interest in Parliament,

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 844—846; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 315—320; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 36.

what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This that I speak here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any. I know the worth of those commanders, members of both Houses, who are yet in power; but if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive, if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace.

“ But this I would recommend to your prudence: not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any Commander-in-Chief upon any occasion whatsoever; for as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs. Therefore, waiving a strict inquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy, which is most necessary. And I hope we have such true English hearts, and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother country, as no members of either House will scruple to deny themselves, and their own private interests, for the public good; nor account it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the Parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter.”

Another member rose and said, “ Whatever is the matter, two summers are past over, and we are not saved. Our victories, (the price of blood invaluable,) so gallantly gotten, and, which is more pity, so gra-

ciously bestowed, seem to have been put into a bag with holes; for what we won one time, we lost at another. A summer's victory has proved but a winter's story; the game, shut up with autumn, was to be new played again next spring, as if the blood that has been shed were only to manure the field of war, for a more plentiful crop of contention. I determine nothing; but this I would say—it is apparent that, the forces being under several great commanders, want of good correspondency among the chieftains has oftentimes hindered the public service."

"There is but one way to put an end to these evils," said Zouch Tate, an obscure fanatic, whom the importance of his proposition has not rescued from his obscurity; "we must all honestly deny ourselves. I move that no member of either House of Parliament shall, during the war, enjoy or execute any office or command, military or civil, and that an ordinance be brought in to that purpose."¹

This proposition was not altogether new; on the 12th of December in the previous year, a similar idea had been expressed in the Upper House, but the matter was mentioned only casually, and led to no result.² Still more recently, on the 14th of November, 1644, in obedience doubtless to popular clamour, the House of Commons had ordered an inquiry into the number and value of offices of every kind held by

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 3—5; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 326; Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. i. pp. 217, 218; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. pp. 21—24. Clarendon's account is manifestly inaccurate.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 187.

members of Parliament. Either designedly or from embarrassment, the Presbyterians hesitated at first to oppose Tate's motion, and it passed almost without an objection. But two days after, when it was brought forward again in the form of a regular ordinance, the debate was long and violent, and was resumed four times within eight days.¹ It was evident that the intention was to deprive the Presbyterians and moderate politicians, the first leaders of the Revolution, of all share in the executive power, to confine their action to Westminster Hall, and to create an army independent of the Parliament. The resistance to the measure was renewed with greater vehemence at every meeting of the House. Even some of those men who generally voted with the Independent party opposed this bill. "You know, sir," said Whitelocke, "that, amongst the Greeks and Romans, the greatest offices, both of war and peace, were conferred upon their senators; and their reasons were, because having the same interest with the Senate, and being present at their debates, they understood their business the better, and were less apt to break their trust. Our ancestors did the same; they thought the members of Parliament fittest to be employed in the greatest offices. I hope you will be of the same judgment, and not pass this ordinance, and thereby discourage your faithful servants."² Other speakers went still further, and boldly denounced the secret ambition of their rivals, saying that, far from being a self-

¹ On the 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th of December.

² Whitelocke, p. 120.

denying ordinance, it was intended only to secure the triumph of "envy and self-ends."¹ But the public put little trust in these predictions; the Presbyterian party was effete and unpopular; all but its adherents witnessed its fall without regret. Although the Independents were far from possessing a majority in the House, their motion was carried triumphantly through all its stages. In vain, as a last effort, did the friends of Essex request that he alone might be excepted from the disability it entailed; their amendment was rejected,² and on the 21st of December, the ordinance was finally adopted, and sent up to the House of Lords.

All the hopes of the Presbyterians rested on the Lords. It was imperatively the interest of the Upper House to throw out the bill: nearly all its members were affected by it; and by passing it, they would lose all their remaining power. But, as far as public opinion was concerned, this was an additional source of discredit and weakness. To diminish this unpopularity, to clear themselves of all suspicion of connivance with the Court at Oxford, to discourage the Royalist plots which were ever ready to break out, and above all, to gratify the passions of the Presbyterian populace, the leaders of that party, at the very moment that they were attempting to arrest the course of the Revolution, offered it further concessions and new victims. Four prosecutions, which had been commenced long previously, but allowed to drop, were

¹ Whitelocke, p. 120.

² On the 17th of December, by a hundred votes against ninety-three.

now resumed and hastened with unremitting vigour ; these were, the trial of Lord Maguire, for complicity in the Irish insurrection ; that of the two Hothams, father and son, for having consented to surrender Hull to the King ; that of Sir Alexander Carew, for similar conduct with regard to the island of St. Nicholas, of which he was governor ; and, finally, that of Laud, which had already been commenced, postponed, and resumed more than once. Maguire, the two Hothams, and Carew were guilty of recent offences, which were legally proved, and, if left unpunished, might be imitated. But Laud, an infirm old man, who had been four years a prisoner, had only to answer for giving his support to a despotism which had been overthrown four years previously. As in the case of Strafford, it was impossible to prove him guilty of high treason according to law. To condemn him, as Strafford had been condemned, by a bill of attainder, the King's consent was necessary ; but theological hatred is as subtle as implacable. Foremost in the ranks of his prosecutors was that same Prynne whom Laud had formerly ordered to be so barbarously mutilated, and who was now, in his turn, eager to humiliate and crush his enemy. After a long trial, during which the archbishop manifested greater adroitness and prudence than was to have been expected of him, sentence was pronounced against him by an ordinance of both Houses, which was voted by only seven Lords, and which, even according to the traditions of parliamentary tyranny, was illegal.¹ He died with pious

¹ According to the Journals of the House of Lords, twenty peers

courage, expressing utter contempt for his adversaries, and the deepest solicitude for the King's future fate. The other trials had a similar issue; and during six weeks, the scaffold was erected five times on Tower Hill¹; more frequently than had yet happened since the commencement of the Revolution.² The measures adopted for the maintenance of general order were dictated by the same spirit. On the 3rd of January, 1645, a week before Laud's execution, the liturgy of the Church of England, which had until then been tolerated, was abolished; and, at the suggestion of the Assembly of Divines, a work entitled, "Directions for Public Worship," received the sanction of Parliament in its stead.³ The leaders of the Presbyterian party well knew that this innovation would meet with strenuous resistance, and they cared little about its success; but in order to retain the power which they felt was about to escape from their hands, they needed all the support of the fanatical Presbyterians, and denied them nothing. The Independents, on their side, used every exertion to induce the Upper House

were in their places on the day when Laud was condemned; but several probably left without voting; for it is certain that the majority who condemned him consisted of seven only—the Earls of Kent, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Bolingbroke, and Lords North, Grey of Wark, and Bruce.—(Somers' Tracts, vol. ii. p. 287.) Lord Bruce subsequently denied that he had voted.

¹ Sir Alexander Carew was executed on the 23rd of December, 1644; Captain Hotham, on the 1st of January, 1645; Sir John Hotham, his father, on the 2nd of January; Laud on the 10th of January; and Lord Maguire on the 20th of February.

² State Trials, vol. iv. cols. 315—626, 653—754; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 315, 319—322; Whitelocke, pp. 72, 112, 121—123.

³ Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 127.

to adopt the decisive ordinance: petitions were poured in in vast numbers, some of them menacing in their tone, and demanding that the Lords and Commons should sit together in one single assembly.¹ A solemn fast was appointed for the 18th of December, to invoke the Divine guidance in so important a deliberation; the two Houses alone were present at the sermons preached at Westminster on that day, doubtless in order to give the preachers greater liberty; and Vane and Cromwell had taken care to select their men.² At length, after repeated conferences and messages, the Commons proceeded in a body to the Upper House, on the 18th of January, 1645, to demand the adoption of the ordinance, but the Lords had taken their resolution, and on the very day of this extraordinary proceeding, the ordinance was rejected.³

The victory seemed great, and the moment favourable for taking advantage of it. The Uxbridge negotiations were shortly to commence. At the instance of the refugee members, who had just opened their second session in great obscurity at Oxford, Charles had at length consented to give the name of Parliament to the Houses at Westminster. "If there had been but two, besides myself, of my opinion," he wrote to the Queen, on the 2nd of January, "I had not done it."⁴ He had, at the same time, appointed

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 5; Lingard's History of England, vol. x. p. 282; Whitelocke, p. 118.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. pp. 88, 131; Whitelocke, p. 119.

³ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 333—337; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 7; Whitelocke, p. 123.

⁴ Halliwell's Letters of the Kings of England, vol. ii. p. 368.

his Commissioners;¹ nearly all of them were desirous of peace. Among the Commissioners of the Parliament,² Vane, St. John, and Prideaux alone entertained opposite views. On the 29th of January, the negotiators arrived at Uxbridge, full of friendly intentions and animated by the brightest hopes.

The meeting was friendly and courteous on both sides. The Commissioners had all known each other for a long time; and several, before the outbreak of the war, had been united by the closest ties of friendship. On the very evening of their arrival, Hyde, Colepepper, Palmer, Whitelocke, Hollis, and Pierrepont exchanged visits, and congratulated themselves on having to work together to restore peace to their country. It was remarked, however, that the Westminster Commissioners exhibited greater embarrassment and reserve, for they were the servants of a sterner and more distrustful master. The negotiations were to last for twenty days, and the principal matters to be settled were religion, the militia, and Ireland.

¹ The King's Commissioners were,—the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton, Kingston and Chichester, the Lords Capel, Seymour, Hatton and Colepepper, Mr. Secretary Nicholas, Sir Edward Hyde, Sir Edward Lane, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Thomas Gardiner, Mr. John Ashburnham, Mr. Geoffrey Palmer, Dr. Stewart, and their attendants; in all, a hundred and eight persons.

² The Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury and Denbigh, Lord Wenman, Messrs. Denzil Hollis, William Pierrepont, Oliver St. John, Bulstrode Whitelocke, John Carew, Edmund Prideaux, and Sir Harry Vane, represented the English Parliament. The Earl of Loudoun, the Marquis of Argyll, the Lords Maitland and Balmerino, Sir Archibald Johnston, Sir Charles Erskine, Sir John South, Messrs. George Dundas, Hugh Kennedy, Robert Berkeley and Alexander Henderson, represented the Scottish Parliament. With their attendants, they numbered one hundred and eight persons.

It was agreed that three days should be devoted to the discussion of each of these questions, and that they might be taken up alternately. So long as these preliminary arrangements were the only business in hand, all went on smoothly; entire confidence was felt, and the utmost politeness manifested on both sides. But when at length, on the 30th of January, 1645, the official discussion commenced around the long table at which the Commissioners were seated, all the old difficulties reappeared. Each of the parliamentary factions had its own fundamental interest, of which it refused to yield a jot; the Presbyterians claimed the privileged establishment of their form of Church government, the politicians required the command of the militia, and the Independents demanded liberty of conscience; and the King, while obliged to yield to them all, could obtain from each only such concessions as the others absolutely refused to grant. Each party, moreover, was perpetually anxious to ascertain whether, when peace was made, the power would remain in its hands; for neither would have consented to treat, except on this understanding. Beginning with the question of religion, the discussion soon assumed the character of a theological controversy; argument took the place of negotiation; and the disputants seemed more anxious to prove that they were logically right than to make peace. Ere long the friendliness of their relations ceased, and acrimonious feeling found its way even into those familiar conversations in which some of the negotiators occasionally endeavoured to remove those obstacles which

had impeded their public discussions. Among the Oxford Commissioners, Hyde was especially courted by those from Westminster, who knew him to be a man of sense and influence with the King. Lord Loudoun, the Chancellor of Scotland, and the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, had long interviews with him, in which they candidly informed him of the dangers which were looming in the future, the sinister designs which were fermenting in the Parliament, and the absolute necessity for the King to concede much in order to save the State. Hyde gladly welcomed these communications, but the captiousness of his self-love, the haughty inflexibility of his reason, his dry and sarcastic tone, and his disdainful honesty, almost invariably offended and repelled those who desired to treat him with friendship. Any slight incident was sufficient to disclose all these difficulties, and to exhibit the impotence of the pacific wishes of the negotiators. On a market-day, in Uxbridge church, before a numerous audience, a fanatical preacher, named Love, who had recently arrived from London, inveighed against the Royalists and the treaty with the most offensive violence. "Expect no good from that treaty," he said; "they are men of blood who are employed in it from Oxford; they intend only to amuse the people with the expectation of peace, till they are able to do some notable mischief to them: there is as great distance between the treaty and peace as between heaven and hell." The King's Commissioners demanded that Love should be punished for this seditious language, but the deputies from Westminster did not

venture to do more than send him away from Uxbridge.¹ Unsatisfactory reports were current with regard to the King's real intentions. Though he had yielded, it was said, to the wishes of his council, he was not desirous of peace, but had renewed his promise to the Queen to make no final arrangement without her consent, and was far more intent upon fomenting the internal dissensions of the Parliament than upon coming to an honest understanding with it. He was even suspected of treating secretly with the Irish Papists, in order to obtain an army from them; and the most solemn assurances of his Commissioners were not able to remove the distrust of the City on this point.

Meanwhile the period assigned for concluding the negotiations was drawing near, and the Parliament showed very little inclination to prolong them. In despair at finding themselves about to separate without having obtained any beneficial result, the friends of peace, towards the middle of February, resolved to try a last effort. It was their opinion that some concession on the part of the King with regard to the militia—for instance, an offer to place it for some years under the command of leaders, of whom one half should be appointed by the Parliament—would not be altogether ineffectual. Lord Southampton hastened to Oxford to obtain this concession from the King. Charles at first refused; the Earl insisted; others joined him in his entreaties, beseeching the King, on

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 44; Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 848—926; Whitelocke, pp. 127—130.

their bended knees, in the name of his crown and people, not to reject this means of prolonging the negotiation. Charles yielded at last, and the desire for peace among his councillors was so strong that, in their joy, they imagined all difficulties were now removed. Fairfax and Cromwell were to be among the Commissioners to whom the King was himself to propose that the command of the militia should be intrusted. In the evening, at supper, gaiety reigned at the royal table; the King complained that his wine was not good. "I hope," said one of the guests, laughingly, "that before a week is over, your Majesty will drink better at Guildhall with the Lord Mayor." On the following morning Lord Southampton, before starting on his return to Uxbridge, waited on the King to receive his instructions in writing, but, to his extreme surprise, Charles revoked his promise, and utterly refused to make any concession.¹

A letter which had arrived during the night from Montrose, who had despatched it with almost unprecedented rapidity from the interior of Scotland, had produced this sudden change of purpose. A fortnight previously, on the 2nd of February, at Inverlochy, in Argyleshire, Montrose had gained a splendid victory over the Scottish troops, under the command of Argyle himself. After having given an account of the battle to the King, he went on to say: "Now, sacred Sir, let me humbly entreat your Majesty's pardon if I pre-

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 77—79; Welwood's *Memoirs*, pp. 62, 63; Banks's *Critical Review of the Life of Oliver Cromwell*, pp. 108—112.

sume to write you my poor thoughts and opinions about what I heard from a letter I received from my friends in the south last week, as if your Majesty was entering into a treaty with your rebel Parliament in England. The success of your arms in Scotland does not more rejoice my heart, as that news from England is like to break it. When I had the honour of waiting on your Majesty last, I told you at full length what I fully understood of the designs of your rebel subjects in both kingdoms. Your Majesty may remember how much you said you were convinced I was in the right in my opinion of them. I am sure there is nothing fallen out since to make your Majesty change your judgment in all those things I laid before your Majesty at that time. The more your Majesty grants, the more will be asked, and I have too much reason to know that they will not rest satisfied with less than making your Majesty a king of straw. Forgive me, sacred Sovereign, to tell your Majesty that, in my poor opinion, it is unworthy of a king to treat with rebel subjects while they have the sword in their hands; and though God forbid I should shut your Majesty's mercy, yet I must declare the horror I am in when I think of a treaty, while your Majesty and they are in the field with two armies, unless they disband and submit themselves entirely to your Majesty's goodness and pardon. And give me leave, with all humility, to assure your Majesty that, through God's blessing, I live in the fairest hopes of reducing this kingdom to your Majesty's obedience; and if the measures I have concerted with your other loyal subjects fail me not,

which they hardly can, I doubt not but, before the end of this summer, I shall be able to come to your Majesty's assistance with a brave army; which, backed with the justice of your Majesty's cause, will make the rebels in England, as well as in Scotland, feel the just rewards of rebellion. Only give me leave, after I have reduced this country to your Majesty's obedience, and conquered from Dan to Beersheba, to say to your Majesty then, as David's general did to his master, '*Come thou thyself, lest this country be called by my name;*' for in all my actions I aim only at your Majesty's honour and interest."¹

This letter had filled the King with the highest hopes. Lord Southampton, though less confident, ceased to urge concession; and returned to Uxbridge with a refusal, of which he would give no explanation. The conferences were broken off on the 22nd of February, and the Presbyterian leaders returned to Westminster, almost heartbroken at a failure which involved them only more deeply in all the dangers to which they had previously been exposed.²

In their absence, their position had become worse. Though they had been compelled to abandon the self-denying ordinance, at least for the moment, the Independents had suddenly devoted their utmost efforts to carrying the measure for the reorganization of the army, which was to have accompanied that ordinance. In a few days, everything had been prepared, arranged, and settled; the plan, the form, the cost, and the

¹ Welwood's Memoirs, pp. 302—308.

² Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 133.

means of paying it.¹ One army alone was henceforward to be kept on foot; it was to consist of twenty-one thousand men, and to be commanded by one general, who was to have the right of appointing all his officers, subject to the approval of Parliament. Fairfax was entrusted with this command. His distinguished valour, the frankness of his character, the success which attended his expeditions, and the warlike enthusiasm with which he animated his soldiers, had long fixed popular attention upon him; and Cromwell had publicly assured the House, and privately satisfied his party, that he was in every way worthy of the appointment. Essex retained his title, and Waller and Manchester their commissions, but without even a shadow of authority. On the 28th of January, the ordinance regulating the execution of this measure was sent up to the Lords. They endeavoured at least to delay its adoption, either by suggesting amendments, or by tediously prolonging their debates. But on this point resistance was difficult, for the ordinance was viewed with approbation by the people, who were convinced that the multiplicity of armies and generals was the true cause of the protraction and inefficacy of the war. Strong in this popular support, the Commons insisted, the Lords yielded, and the ordinance was adopted on the 15th of February. On the 19th of the same month, two days before the cessation of negotiations at Uxbridge, Fairfax was introduced into the House, and standing by the seat which had been

¹ The new army was to cost 56,135*l.* per month, to be levied on nineteen counties.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 8—13.

prepared for him, received with a simple and modest air, the official compliments of the Speaker.¹

On their return to Westminster, the Presbyterian leaders endeavoured to redeem this defeat. The Upper House complained bitterly of certain outrageous and threatening speeches which had recently been made against it, and of the report which was current everywhere that the Commons meditated the abolition of the peerage. The Commons replied by a solemn declaration of their profound respect for the rights of the Lords, and of their firm resolution to maintain them.² On the 3rd of March, the Scottish Commissioners addressed to both Houses, in the name of the Covenant, a remonstrance at once petulant and timid.³ The Commons, without taking any notice of it, communicated to the Lords a new ordinance for the further extension of Fairfax's powers, and for omitting from his commission the order for the preservation of the King's person, which had until then been repeated in all similar documents. The Lords voted for its retention, on the 29th of March; but the Commons refused to consent to it, on the ground that it would "dishearten their soldiers, and encourage the King to adventure his person to come at the head of his army into danger." The Lords persisted; and in three successive debates, notwithstanding the anxious efforts of the Commons, the votes of the Upper House were

¹ Whitelocke, pp. 130, 132; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 340—344; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 7—13; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 34.

² On the 24th of March, 1645.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 348—350.

³ Ibid. vol. iii. col. 346.

equally divided on this question.¹ The matter thus remained in suspense; but on the 31st of March, the Commons declared that, as they had now done everything in their power, if the delay occasioned any disaster, the Lords alone would be responsible to the country for it. The latter were beginning to grow weary of a resistance which they saw was not only futile, but must speedily end.

While matters were in this condition, the Marquis of Argyle arrived from Scotland. Though a Presbyterian in religion, he was inclined politically towards bolder views; and the Independents, particularly Vane and Cromwell, soon contracted intimate relations with him. Argyle, moreover, had recent injuries to avenge; a man of deep and elastic intellect, and of restless activity, but firmer in the council than on the field, he had witnessed the defeat of his troops by Montrose at Inverlochy, only from the middle of the lake, and had taken to flight as soon as he saw his soldiers give way.² From that day forth, both in England and Scotland, the Cavaliers never spoke of him without insult, and their complete overthrow could alone wipe out the stigma they had put upon him. He employed all his influence to dissuade the Scottish Commissioners and some of the Presbyterian leaders from offering further opposition, not only to the new model of the army, but to the self-denying ordinance itself; for, he said, their opposition was productive only of ill consequences, and must sooner or later be overcome by

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 350, 351.

² Laing's History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 294.

necessity.¹ Essex found that his friends daily grew weaker in their resolution. Determined to anticipate their change of purpose, he announced his intention to tender his resignation; and on the 1st of April, he rose in his place in the House of Lords, and read the following statement, for he was by no means a ready speaker:—

“My Lords,—Having received this great charge in obedience to the commands of both Houses, and taken their sword into my hand, I can with confidence say that I have, for this now almost three years, faithfully served you, and I hope, without loss of honour to myself, or prejudice to the public. I see, by the now coming up of these ordinances, that it is the desire of the House of Commons that my commission may be vacated; and it hath been no particular respect to myself (whatever is whispered to the contrary), that hath made me thus long omit to declare my readiness thereto: it being not unknown to divers men of honour, that I had resolved it after the action of Gloucester, but that some importunities (pressed on me with arguments of public advantage, and that by those of unquestionable affection), overruled me therein. I now do it, and return my commission into those hands that gave it me; wishing it may prove as good an expedient to the present distempers, as some will have it believed. I think it not immodest, that I entreat both Houses that those officers of mine which are now laid by, might have their debentures audited, some considerable part of their arrears paid them for their support,

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 131.

and the remainder secured them by the public faith. My Lords, I know that jealousies cannot be avoided in the unhappy condition of our present affairs, yet wisdom and charity should put such restraints thereto, as not to allow it to become destructive. I hope that this advice from me is not unseasonable, proceeding as it does from my affection to the Parliament, the prosperity whereof I shall ever wish from my heart, what return soever it bring me: I being no single example, in that kind, of that fortune I now undergo.”¹

This speech, so melancholy and dignified in its tone, was regarded by the Upper House as a deliverance. It hastened at once to inform the Commons that it adopted their new ordinance for the remodelling of the army, without any amendment. At the same time, the Earls of Manchester and Denbigh, following the example of Essex, resigned their commissions. In acknowledgment of this patriotic sacrifice, the House of Lords voted them thanks and promises, which the Commons willingly ratified. On the 3rd of April, a self-denying ordinance, differing slightly from the first, but tending to produce the same results, passed through the Upper House without difficulty;² and many persons congratulated themselves on having, at length, witnessed the termination of a conflict which had caused them so much anxiety and alarm.

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 352.

² Ibid. vol. iii. cols. 353, 355. See Appendix VI.

BOOK VI.

FORMATION OF THE ARMY OF THE INDEPENDENTS—CROMWELL RETAINS HIS COMMAND—CAMPAIGN OF 1645—ALARMS OF THE PARLIAMENT—BATTLE OF NASEBY—THE PARLIAMENT CAPTURES AND PUBLISHES THE KING'S PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE—DECLINE OF THE ROYALIST PARTY IN THE WEST—FLIGHT AND ANXIETY OF THE KING—VICTORIES OF MONTROSE IN SCOTLAND—THE KING MAKES AN UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO JOIN HIM—DEFEAT OF MONTROSE—RESIDENCE OF THE KING AT NEWARK—HIS RETURN TO OXFORD, AND ATTEMPT TO RENEW NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PARLIAMENT—HIS OVERTURES ARE REJECTED BY THE PARLIAMENT—NEW ELECTIONS—THE KING'S TREATY WITH THE IRISH INSURGENTS—ITS DISCOVERY—DEFEAT OF THE LAST ROYALIST TROOPS—THE KING ESCAPES FROM OXFORD, AND TAKES REFUGE IN THE SCOTTISH CAMP.

Essex and Manchester had no sooner resigned their commissions than Fairfax left London,¹ and, establishing his head-quarters at Windsor, set diligently to work to organize, from their two armies, the new army which he was himself to command. It had been predicted that violent opposition would be offered to this important proceeding; but Cromwell, who, like Essex and Manchester, was deprived of his command by the self-denying ordinance, had scouted such apprehensions, protesting that "his own soldiers looked not

¹ On the 3rd of April, 1645.

upon him, but upon the Parliament ; and for the Parliament they would fight, and live and die in its cause.”¹ Some mutinies, however, broke out, especially at Reading, where five regiments of Essex’s infantry were quartered, and in Hertfordshire, where eight squadrons of his cavalry were stationed, under the command of Colonel Dalbier. The presence of Skippon, who had been appointed Major-General of the new army, and his rough but effective eloquence sufficed to persuade the regiments at Reading to return to their duty. Dalbier’s troops were not so easily quieted ; a report was even current in London that they were preparing to march to Oxford ; and St. John, ever prone to suspicion and violence, wrote to the Parliamentary leaders in Hertfordshire, that they would do well to fall suddenly on these mutineers, sword in hand. But, by the influence of some of the officers who had been already cashiered, and at the entreaty of Essex himself, Dalbier at length submitted, and proceeded to head-quarters. In reality, the feeling of discontent among his soldiers was not very strong, and they enrolled themselves, without a murmur, under their new leader. The Parliament gave them a fortnight’s pay, and ordered that the sequestrated estates of a number of delinquents should be sold to supply the most pressing demands. But Cromwell’s soldiers also mutinied, notwithstanding his assurances, and declared that they would serve under no other commander ; and Cromwell alone had sufficient power over them to induce them to submit. On the first

¹ Cromwelliana, p. 12.

rumour of their insubordination, he set off in all haste to render, he said, this last service to the Parliament, before resigning his command. About the 20th of April, the work was almost effected; all the new corps were organized without difficulty; and in London alone, the agitation was prolonged by the crowds of cashiered officers who all flocked thither, either to solicit the payment of their arrears, or to watch the course of events.¹

At Oxford, the King and his Court were full of hope. After the rupture of the negotiations at Uxbridge, notwithstanding the brilliant news he had received from Scotland, Charles had felt considerable uneasiness. Though by no means desirous of peace, he was anxious that the peace party should be uppermost at Westminster, and their defeat had, for a moment, alarmed him. He now resolved to part from his son Charles, Prince of Wales, who was nearly fifteen years of age, and to send him, with the title of Generalissimo, into the western counties, for the double purpose of giving those faithful counties a leader whose presence would serve to rekindle their devotedness, and of dividing the dangers which might threaten the royal cause. Hyde and Lords Capel and Colepepper were appointed to attend the prince, and direct affairs in his name. So great was the melancholy of the King's thoughts at this time, that he frequently conversed with Hyde as to what would happen if he should fall into the hands of the rebels, and employed Lord Digby to sound him as to whether, in case of

¹ Hollis's *Memoirs*, p. 31; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 17.

necessity, he would, without orders, or even in spite of apparent orders, determine on taking the prince out of England, and accompany him to the Continent. "Such questions," replied Hyde, "cannot be answered until the time of need arrives." On the 4th of March, the Prince and his councillors took their leave of the King, whom they never saw again.¹ But, a month afterwards, when news reached Oxford of the obstacles thrown in the way of the reorganization of the Parliamentary army, when it became known that whole regiments had mutinied, and that the most distinguished officers had been dismissed, confidence and gaiety appeared once more among the Cavaliers. They soon began to speak derisively of that mob of peasants and preaching mechanics, who were so insane as to cashier the generals whose names and ability had constituted their chief strength, and to raise to the command officers as obscure and raw as their soldiers. Songs, pasquinades, and jokes were poured forth every morning against the Parliament and its defenders; and the King, in spite of his gravity, allowed himself to be persuaded by these convenient arguments.² He had, however, secret hopes, arising from intrigues of which even his most intimate confidants were ignorant.

Towards the end of April, Fairfax announced that, in a few days, he would open the campaign. Cromwell went to Windsor, for the purpose, he said, of kissing the general's hand, and tendering his resigna-

¹ Clarendon's *Life*, vol. i. pp. 215—220; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 114, 123.

² May's *Breviary of the Parliament*, p. 124; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 65.

tion. As soon as he saw him, however, Fairfax informed him that he had received from the Committee of both kingdoms, instructions for him to proceed at once, with a body of horse, along the road from Oxford to Worcester, in order to intercept communications between Prince Rupert and the King.¹ Cromwell set out that very evening ; and in five days, before any other corps of the new army had set itself in motion, he had beaten the Royalists in three encounters,² taken Blechington House,³ and written to inform the Parliament of his success.⁴ “ Who will bring me this Cromwell, dead or alive ? ” exclaimed the King ;⁵ whilst, in London, all were rejoicing that his resignation had not yet been accepted.

Before another week had elapsed, the Parliament had determined that he should retain his command. The campaign had commenced on the 30th of April. The King had left Oxford on the 7th of May, and rejoined Prince Rupert ; he was now advancing rapidly towards the north, either to raise the siege of Chester, or to give battle to the Scottish army, and regain his former preponderance in that part of the country ; if he succeeded in this attempt, he would be able to threaten either the east or the south, as he pleased ; and Fairfax, who was on his way towards the west, to relieve the important town of Taunton, which was

¹ Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 10 ; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 23.

² At Islip Bridge on the 24th of April, at Witney on the 26th, and at Bampton-in-the-Bush on the 27th.

³ On the 24th of April.

⁴ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 359 ; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 24.

⁵ Banks' *Critical Review*, p. 23.

closely invested by the Prince of Wales, would be unable to oppose his progress. Fairfax was recalled on the 6th of May; but in the meanwhile, Cromwell alone was in a position to watch the King's movements. Notwithstanding the ordinance, orders were sent him to continue his services in the army for forty days.¹ Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas Middleton, and Sir John Price, distinguished officers who were at the same time members of the House of Commons, received similar instructions,² either from analogous reasons, or that Cromwell might not appear the only exception.

Fairfax hastened his return; the King had continued his march towards the north; in London, from no assignable cause, less alarm prevailed. Oxford, at all times the focus of war in the heart of the kingdom, was no longer protected by any royalist army; the Parliament believed that it had numerous friends in that city; and on the 17th of May, orders were sent to Fairfax to invest it.³ If he should take the town, it would be an eminent success; if the siege were protracted, he might march from thence without impediment to any place threatened by the King. Cromwell joined him beneath the walls of Oxford.

They had no sooner met than fresh alarms spread through London, with greater intensity than ever. Unfavourable news arrived daily from the north; the

¹ On the 10th of May.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 361; Whitelocke, p. 145.

² Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 146.

³ The siege began on the 22nd of May.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 33; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 364, 369—373.

Scottish army, instead of marching to meet the King, in order to check his progress or give him battle, had fallen back towards the Scottish border,—from necessity, said some, and in order to be ready to oppose the still-increasing victories of Montrose in that kingdom; from pique, said others, because the English Parliament had refused to submit to the yoke of Presbyterians and foreigners.¹ However this may be, the King, favoured by their retreat, had been able to raise the siege of Chester without the slightest difficulty; and, free from anxiety as to that town, his best means of communication with Ireland, he was marching towards the associated eastern counties, which had hitherto been the stronghold and bulwark of the Parliament. At any risk, it was essential to protect them against this invasion. No one could do this so well as Cromwell, for there his influence was especially predominant; there he had raised his Ironsides, and commenced his military achievements. He received orders to proceed, without delay, towards Cambridge, and to take measures for the defence of the associated counties.²

A more pressing danger soon led to his recal. A week after his departure, news arrived that, on the 1st of June, the King had taken Leicester by storm, and that, in the west, Taunton, which had been temporarily relieved by a detachment of Fairfax's army, was now again closely blockaded.³ Great consternation was

¹ Old Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. pp. 474, 488.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 35; May's Breviary of the Parliament, p. 126; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 35.

³ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 149.

felt at this intelligence; the Presbyterians were triumphant. "See," they said, "the consequences of your boasted new model; since it has been effected, what has it produced? Nothing but failures and reverses. The King reduces our strongest garrisons in a day; but your new general has only faced Oxford at a distance, to try whether the ladies would prevail for the giving up of the town, to pacify their fears."¹ In answer to these reproaches, a petition from the Common Council was presented to the Upper House on the 5th of June;² it laid all the blame on the inactivity of the Scottish troops, on the delays which were still thrown in the way of the recruitment of the army, and on the assumption of the conduct of the war by the Parliament; and it demanded that the General should be allowed greater liberty, that more stringent orders should be sent to the Scots, and that Cromwell should be restored to his former command. At the same time, instructions were sent to Fairfax to abandon the siege of Oxford, to pursue the King, and to give him battle at any risk. Before he set out on this mission, he wrote to both Houses to request that Cromwell might be appointed to command the horse, in which capacity his services were indispensable; and sixteen colonels signed the letter with him.³ The Lords deferred their answer, but the sanction of the Commons was given at once, and deemed sufficient. Fairfax sent word to Cromwell immediately;⁴ all the

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 178.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 365.

³ Ibid., col. 368.

⁴ On the 11th of June.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 39.

contingents hastened their march ; and on the 12th of June, a little to the west of Northampton, some Parliamentary cavalry, who had been sent out to reconnoitre, suddenly came upon a detachment of the royal army.

The King was far from expecting their approach : informed of the blockade of Oxford, and yielding to the terrified entreaties of his besieged Court,¹ he had given up his expedition into the northern and eastern counties, in order to hasten to the relief of his headquarters. But his confidence was unshaken : a new victory gained by Montrose at Auldearn, in Nairnshire, in the north of Scotland, on the 4th of May, had recently given fresh elation to his hopes. "Since this rebellion," he wrote to the Queen, on the 9th of June, "my affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way."² He was accordingly pursuing his march slowly, halting at every place that pleased him, spending his days in the chase, and allowing his Cavaliers, who were even more confident than himself, almost equal liberty.³ On the first report of the appearance of the Parliamentarians, he fell back towards Leicester in order to rally his troops, and wait the arrival of the reinforcements which he expected shortly to receive from Wales and the western counties. On the following day, the 13th of June, at supper, his feeling of security was equally strong, and he had no thought of giving battle.⁴ But he was soon after informed that

¹ *Memoirs of King James II.* vol. i. p. 32.

² *Halliwell's Letters of the Kings of England*, vol. ii. p. 382.

³ *Rushworth*, part iv. vol. i. p. 40 ; *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 178.

⁴ *Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 151 : a letter from the King to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

some of the Parliamentary squadrons were harassing his rear-guard. For some hours, Cromwell had been with the army.¹ A council of war was immediately assembled; and towards midnight, notwithstanding the opposition of several officers who urged the King to wait the arrival of reinforcements, Prince Rupert persuaded him to decide on turning back at once and engaging the enemy.²

The battle took place on the following day, the 14th of June, at Naseby, to the north-west of Northampton. At daybreak the King's army was drawn up in battle array on a slight eminence, in an advantageous position. Scouts were sent out to reconnoitre, but returned in two hours with a report that the Parliamentarians were not to be seen. Rupert, impatient for the fight, rode out with some squadrons to look for them; and it was agreed that the army should remain stationary until his return. He had scarcely gone a mile when the enemy's vanguard appeared, in full march towards the Cavaliers. In his excitement, the Prince fancied they were retreating, and pushed onward, sending word to the King to join him with all speed, lest the enemy should escape. At about ten o'clock the Royalists came up, somewhat disordered by the rapidity of their movement; and Rupert, at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, immediately charged the left wing of the Parliamentarians, commanded by Ireton, who soon after became Cromwell's

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 41; May's Breviary of the Parliament, p. 127.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 182.

son-in-law.¹ Almost at the same moment, Cromwell, whose squadrons formed part of Fairfax's right wing, attacked the King's left wing, which was composed of the Cavaliers from the northern counties, under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale; and shortly after, the main bodies of infantry, the one commanded by Fairfax and Skippon, and the other led by the King in person, also engaged. No previous action had become so rapidly general, or been so fiercely contested. The two armies were almost equal in strength; the Cavaliers, intoxicated with confidence, shouted *Queen Mary* for their war-cry; the Parliamentarians, firm in their faith, marched onward with cries of *God is our strength!* Prince Rupert made his first charge with his usual success; after a desperate contest, Ireton's squadrons gave way; and Ireton himself, severely wounded in the shoulder and thigh, fell for a moment into the hands of the Cavaliers. But whilst Rupert, with his habitual recklessness, was pursuing the enemy to their baggage-waggons, which were well defended by artillery, and was losing time in attacking them in the hope of booty, Cromwell, with that same command over himself and his men which he had so conspicuously displayed at Marston Moor, had put Langdale's squadrons to rout, and, leaving two of his officers to prevent them from rallying, had hastened to return to the field, where the main bodies of infantry were hotly engaged. The battle there raged with greater violence and bloodshed than anywhere else. The Parliamentarians, charged by the King in person, had at first been

¹ Ireton married Bridget Cromwell on the 16th of January, 1647.

thrown into great disorder ; Skippon was severely wounded, and Fairfax urged him to withdraw. " No," he said ; " so long as a man will stand, I will not stir ;" and he ordered his reserve corps to advance. Fairfax lost his helmet by a blow from a sword ; and Charles Doyley, the colonel of his body-guard, seeing him ride bareheaded through the fray, earnestly entreated him to take his own helmet. " It is well enough, Charles," said Fairfax, declining the generous offer ; and, pointing to a corps of the royal infantry which still maintained its ground, he asked Doyley if he had charged that body. " I have charged them twice," answered Doyley, " but cannot break them." " Charge them once again in the front," said Fairfax ; " I will charge them in the rear at the same time, and we may meet together in the middle." This was done ; the Royalists were utterly scattered ; Fairfax killed the standard-bearer with his own hand, and gave the standard to one of his troopers : upon which the man boasted that he had won it himself. Doyley overheard this, and indignantly upbraided him with his falsehood. " Let him alone," said Fairfax ; " I have honour enough ; let him take that honour to himself." The Royalists were now giving way on every side, when Cromwell appeared with his victorious squadrons. At this sight, Charles, in despair, placed himself at the head of his regiment of guards, his only remaining reserve, and prepared to charge this new enemy. The order was already given, and the troops in motion, when the Earl of Carnwarth, a Scotsman, who was riding by the King's side, sud-

denly seized his horse by the bridle, and exclaiming with an oath: "Will you go upon your death in an instant?" turned him abruptly to the right. The Cavaliers who were nearest to the King followed his example, without understanding the object of the movement; the others did the same, and in a moment the whole regiment had turned its back to the enemy. The surprise of the Royalists now became terror; all scattered through the plain, some to seek refuge in flight, others to stay the fugitives. Charles, in the midst of a group of officers, in vain called to them to halt. The rout continued, until Prince Rupert at length returned to the field of battle with his squadrons. A considerable body then formed around the King; but the Cavaliers were disordered, weary, anxious, and despondent. Charles, sword in hand, with flashing eyes, and despair in every feature, twice dashed forward, shouting: "One charge more, and we recover the day!" But none followed him; the infantry, thrown into complete disorder, were either in full flight, or had already been taken prisoners. Flight was unavoidable; and the King, with about two thousand horse, retreated towards Leicester, leaving his artillery, ammunition, and baggage, more than a hundred pair of colours, the royal standard, five thousand men, and his cabinet of letters, in the hands of the Parliament.¹

This victory exceeded the most sanguine hopes of

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 42—44; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 183—186; Whitelocke, pp. 150, 151; May's *Breviary*, p. 128.

the conquerors. Fairfax hastened to send the news to the Parliament, in a calm and simple tone, and without any political allusion or advice. Cromwell also wrote, but to the Commons, as he held his commission from them alone. His letter ended with these words: "This is none other but the hand of God; and to Him alone belongs the glory, wherein none are to share with Him. The General served you with all faithfulness and honour; and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself: and yet as much for bravery may be given to him, in this action, as to any man. Honest men¹ served you faithfully in this action. They are trusty: I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he may trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for."²

Some persons were offended that a subordinate officer, a servant of the Parliament, as they said, should presume to offer them advice and praise in this independent tone; but their displeasure could effect nothing amidst the popular enthusiasm; and on the 16th of June, the day on which Cromwell's letter reached London, the Lords themselves voted that he should retain his command for another three months.³

¹ That is to say, the Independent enthusiasts.

² Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, vol. i. p. 234; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 45, 46.

³ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 374.

At the same time, they voted that it would be well to take advantage of this victory to address reasonable propositions to the King;¹ and the Scottish Commissioners expressed a similar desire for negotiation.² But the conquerors were far from entertaining any such idea. Instead of giving any answer to the recommendation of the Lords, the Commons demanded, on the 30th of June, that all the citizens should be assembled at Guildhall, to hear the papers read which had been found among the King's baggage, and particularly his letters to the Queen, that they might themselves judge how much confidence was thenceforward to be placed in any negotiations. Fairfax had hesitated to open these papers, but Cromwell and Ireton had lost no time in combating his scruples, and the House did not think of sharing them. The papers were read on the 3rd of July, in the presence of an immense multitude, and with prodigious effect.³ It was evident that the King had never desired peace; that in his eyes no concession was final, and no promise binding; that, in reality, he relied on force alone, and still laid claim to absolute power; and lastly, that, notwithstanding his repeated protestations, he had applied to the King of France, to the Duke of Lorraine, and to all the princes of the Continent, to introduce foreign soldiers into the country. Even the name of Parliament, which, not long previously, in order to obtain the conference at

¹ On the 20th of June; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 375.

² On the 28th of July; *ibid.* vol. iii. col. 389.

³ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 377; *May's Breviary*, p. 129.

Uxbridge, he had appeared to bestow on the Houses at Westminster, was a mere falsehood on his part; for while giving it, he had secretly protested against his official proceeding, and had entered his protest on the minutes of the Council at Oxford.¹ All the citizens were allowed to examine these letters with their own eyes, that they might have no doubt that they were in the King's handwriting;² and after the meeting at Guildhall, the Parliament ordered their publication.³

The indignation excited by these letters was universal; the friends of peace were reduced to silence. Some endeavoured vainly to protest against their publication, as an unwarrantable violation of domestic secrets. Was it possible, they asked, to believe in their perfect authenticity?⁴ Was it not probable that many of the letters had been mutilated, and others entirely suppressed? They even went so far as to insinuate that, in the Parliament itself, certain persons had negotiated with a similar absence of sincerity, and were equally undesirous of peace. But no explanation or

¹ Letters from the King to the Queen, in Evelyn's Diary, vol. iv. pp. 156—161. See also Appendix VII.

² May's Breviary, p. 129.

³ Under this title: "The King's Cabinet Opened, or certain Packets of Secret Letters and Papers, written with the King's own hand, and taken in his Cabinet at Naseby field, June 14, 1645, by victorious Sir Thomas Fairfax: wherein many mysteries of State, tending to the justification of that cause for which Sir Thomas Fairfax joined battle that memorable day, are clearly laid open; together with some annotations thereon."

⁴ The King never disputed the authenticity of these letters; he even formally admitted it in a letter to Sir Edward Nicholas, written on the 4th of August, 1645, only a few weeks after their publication (Evelyn's Diary, vol. iv. p. 156); and the text published by the Parliament in 1645, exactly corresponds with that of Royston's edition of the Works of King Charles I. published in London in 1660.

excuse was admitted by the people, as soon as they became aware that an attempt had been made to deceive them. Besides, were even all that was urged in his defence true, the King's bad faith remained evident; and in order to make peace, it would be necessary to place full reliance upon him. Nothing was now spoken of but war; troops were levied, taxes collected, and the estates of delinquents sold, with increased expedition; all the troops received their pay, and all the important towns were supplied with abundant stores. On the 2nd of July, the Scots at length consented to advance into the interior of the kingdom:¹ and on the 20th of June, Fairfax finding no longer any fugitives to pursue, set out for the western counties to resume the expedition which the siege of Oxford had compelled him temporarily to abandon.²

A great change had meanwhile taken place in those counties, which had hitherto been the bulwark of the royal cause; not that the opinion of the people had become more favourable to the Parliament, but it was alienated from the King. He still possessed several bodies of troops, and nearly all the towns, in the west, but the war there was no longer conducted, as it had been at the outset, by honourable, respected, and popular men, such as the Marquis of Hertford, Sir Bevil Greenville, Lord Hopton, Trevannion, Slanning, and other disinterested friends of the Crown; some of them were dead, others had retired in disgust, or had been removed by Court intrigues, and sacrificed

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 377.

² Old Parliamentary History, vol. xiv. p. 6.

by the King's weakness. In their place, two intriguers held the command, Lord Goring and Sir Richard Greenville, one the most debauched, and the other the most rapacious, of the Cavaliers; they were attached to the royal cause by no principle or affection; in fighting for it, they found the means of gratifying their passions, oppressing their enemies, revenging affronts, procuring diversions, and amassing wealth. Goring was brave and beloved by his friends; on the battle-field, he lacked neither ability nor energy; but nothing could equal his recklessness, or the insolent intemperance of his conduct and language. Even his loyalty was not free from stain; he had already betrayed both the King¹ and the Parliament,² and he seemed ever on the point of committing some fresh act of treachery.³ Sir Richard Greenville was less irregular in his life and more influential with the gentry of his county, but he was harsh and insatiable, and his courage, if not doubtful, was certainly slow to manifest itself. He spent his time in levying contributions for the payment of troops which he never collected, or for the execution of enterprises which he did not even take the pains to commence. The army had altered with its leaders; it no longer consisted of men who fought in defence of their affections and interests, and who, though frivolous and licentious, were sincerely

¹ In 1641, at the time of the first conspiracy of the army against the Parliament. See vol. i. p. 280.

² In August, 1642, at the commencement of the civil war, by surrendering Portsmouth to the King, though he held his appointment of governor of the town from the Parliament.

³ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 2.

devoted to their cause ; it was a rabble of loose fellows, who cared little for whom they fought, but indulged daily and nightly in the most shameful disorders, and revolted by their vices a country which they had ruined by their exactions. The Prince of Wales, or rather his council, compelled to make use of such men, strove in vain to satisfy or control them, sometimes to protect the people against their violence, and sometimes to induce them to join their standard.¹

The people, however, no longer responded to this summons ; and ere long, they did more than refuse their assistance. Thousands of peasants collected together, and under the name of *Clubmen*, ranged the country in arms. They had no intention of joining either party, and did not declare in favour of the Parliament ; their sole object was to rescue their fields and villages from the ravages of war, and they attacked all who gave them cause for alarm, without caring to inquire under whose banner they fought. During the previous year, some similar bands had been formed in Worcestershire and Dorsetshire, to resist the violence of Prince Rupert. In the month of March, 1645, the Clubmen became, in the western counties, a permanent, regular, and well-supported confederation, commanded by gentlemen who had, in many cases, served in the King's armies, and constantly engaged in the defence of their lives and property, and in the assertion of peace and good order. They treated with the troops and garrisons of both sides, undertook to supply them with provisions, on condition that they

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 142

should not seize them by force of arms, even prevented them sometimes from coming to blows, and had these words written on their rustic banners :

“ If you offer to plunder our cattle,
Be assured we will give you battle.”¹

So long as the Royalists were predominant in the west, the Clubmen resisted them, and seemed disposed to ally themselves with the Parliamentarians. Sometimes they threatened to burn the dwellings of all who refused to join with them to exterminate the Cavaliers ; and at other times they invited Massey, who commanded for the Parliament in Worcestershire, to march with them to besiege Hereford, from whence the Cavaliers infested the country.² On the 2nd of June, at Wells, six thousand of them presented a petition to the Prince of Wales, complaining of Lord Goring's rapacity, and notwithstanding the Prince's order, they refused to separate.³ In the beginning of July, Fairfax arrived in the west as a conqueror ; the Cavaliers were intimidated, and ceased to devastate the country ; the Clubmen immediately turned against Fairfax and his soldiers.⁴ But Fairfax had a good army, well paid and provided, and in which enthusiasm and discipline lent each other mutual support. He treated the Clubmen considerately, entered into negotiations with them, personally attended some of their meetings, promised

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 380 ; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 197 ; Whitelocke, p. 136 ; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 90.

² Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 136, 138, 140.

³ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 198.

⁴ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 380—386 ; May's Breviary, p. 130.

them peace, and carried on the war with vigour. In a few days, the campaign was decided. On the 10th of July, Goring was surprised and defeated at Langport, in Somersetshire, and his few remaining troops were left to disperse in all directions. Sir Richard Greenville returned his commission as field-marshal to the Prince of Wales, and complained, with the utmost effrontery, that he had been obliged to carry on the war at his own expense.¹ In short, three weeks after the arrival of Fairfax, the Cavaliers, who had so recently overrun the west as almost absolute masters, were nearly all shut up within various towns, which Fairfax was preparing to besiege.

Meanwhile, in every direction, the question was asked, what the King was about, nay, where was he, for scarcely any one knew. After the disaster of Naseby, he had fled from town to town, scarcely allowing himself any time for repose, and sometimes travelling north, and sometimes west, in order to join Montrose or Goring, as his changing fears and plans suggested. On reaching Hereford, he finally determined to proceed into Wales, where he hoped to recruit some infantry; so he despatched Prince Rupert to Bristol, and betook himself to Ragland Castle, the seat of the Marquis of Worcester, the head of the Catholic party, and the wealthiest nobleman in England. Secret designs, in which the Catholics alone could co-operate, led him to take this step. Moreover, for three years the Marquis had given the King proofs of inexhaustible devotedness; he had lent him a hundred

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 212.

thousand pounds, had raised two regiments at his own expense, under the command of his son, Lord Herbert (afterwards created Earl of Glamorgan), and notwithstanding his age and infirmities, personally commanded a strong garrison in his own castle. He received the King with respectful pomp, assembled the neighbouring nobles to meet him, and provided for him, with lavish munificence, all the sports, festivities, homage, and amusements of a Court. The fugitive monarch breathed freely for a time, as though restored to his natural state of being; and for more than a fortnight, forgetting his misfortunes, his dangers, and his kingdom, his only thought was to enjoy his recovered royalty.¹

The news of his disasters in the west, however, soon roused him from this pleasing illusion. At the same time he learned that, on the 28th of June, the Scots had taken Carlisle, and were marching southward, with a view to besiege Hereford. He left Ragland at once, to hasten to the relief of Goring; but when he reached the banks of the Severn, the unsatisfactory condition of his new levies, the dissensions among his officers, and a host of unexpected difficulties, threw him into discouragement, and he returned into Wales. He was at Cardiff, uncertain what course to take, when a letter was given to him, written by Prince Rupert to the Duke of Richmond, with a request that he would show it to the King. The Prince believed that all was lost, and recommended peace at any price. As soon as his honour seemed in danger, Charles was filled with an

¹ Walker's Discourses, p. 132; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. pp. 221, 222.

energy which considerations of personal safety could never inspire. He wrote at once to his nephew: "If I had any other quarrel but the defence of my religion, crown, and friends, you had full reason for your advice. For I confess that, speaking as a mere soldier or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin; yet as a Christian, I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels and traitors to prosper, nor this cause to be overthrown: and whatever personal punishment it shall please Him to inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less give up this quarrel. I must aver to all my friends, that he that will stay with me at this time must expect and resolve either to die for a good cause, or (which is worse) to live as miserable in maintaining it as the violence of insulting rebels can make him. Therefore, for God's sake, let us not flatter ourselves with vain conceits, and believe me, the very imagination that you are desirous of a treaty will but lose me so much the sooner."¹ Then, to raise the courage of his despondent party, summoning all his resolution, he suddenly left Wales, passed unperceived through the lines of the Scottish army, which already lay encamped under the walls of Hereford, travelled rapidly through Shropshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire, and on his arrival in Yorkshire, summoned all his faithful northern Cavaliers to meet him at Doncaster, and march with him to join Montrose, who, like them, was faithful and still victorious.²

* The Cavaliers hastened to obey the summons. The

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 225—227.

² *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 247; Walker's *Discourses*, pp. 134, 135.

presence of the King, who had so long been their guest, excited the strongest enthusiasm throughout the county; proposals were made for levying a body of infantry; the garrisons of Pontefract and Scarborough had been recently forced to surrender from want of provisions; these formed the nucleus, and in three days, nearly three thousand men had offered their services to the King, promising to be in readiness to march, within twenty-four hours, whithersoever he might please to order them. Charles only awaited a letter from Montrose, to decide whether he would march to meet him in Scotland, or give him a rendezvous in England. Suddenly news arrived that David Lesley, at the head of the Scottish cavalry, had broken up the siege of Hereford, and was already at Rotherham, ten miles from Doncaster, seeking the King. The defeat at Naseby had irretrievably affected the minds of the Royalists; their confidence disappeared at the approach of danger. Many of them left Doncaster; no fresh recruits arrived; and even in the opinion of the bravest, it was too late to attempt to join Montrose, or, in fact, to do more than provide for the King's safety. He accordingly left Yorkshire, with about fifteen hundred horse, traversed the midland counties without difficulty, even defeated some Parliamentary detachments on his road, and re-entered Oxford on the 29th of August, not knowing what to do with the small force which he now had at his command.¹

He had been two days in Oxford when news reached

¹ Walker's Discourses, pp. 135, 136; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 116.

him of Montrose's recent and prodigious successes in Scotland. It was not only in the north of that kingdom, and among the Highland clans, that the royal cause was now triumphant; Montrose had advanced southwards into the Lowlands; and on the 15th of August, at Kilsyth, not far from the ruins of the great Roman wall, he had gained, over the Covenanters commanded by Baillie, the seventh and most splendid of his victories. The enemy's army had been destroyed; all the neighbouring towns, Bothwell, Glasgow, and even Edinburgh, had opened their gates to the conqueror; all the Royalists whom the Scottish Parliament had detained in prison, were liberated; all the timid men, who had waited for some such success before declaring themselves, the Marquis of Douglas, the Earls of Annandale and Linlithgow, the Lords Seaton, Drummond, Erskine, Carnegie, and others, now hastened to outvie each other in offers of service, fearing they might be too late. The Parliamentarian leaders had fled on every side, some into England, and others into Ireland.¹ And, finally, the cavalry of the Scottish army, which was besieging Hereford, had been recalled in all haste, under the command of David Lesley, to defend its native land. Some even stated that when Lesley had recently appeared in the neighbourhood of Doncaster, far from seeking to encounter the King, he was on his march towards Scotland, and that the Royalists had been groundlessly alarmed at his approach.²

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 230; Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 189 *et seq.*

² Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 247, 248; Rush-

On hearing this glorious news, Charles at once recovered all his courage, and left Oxford on the 31st of August, intending to march against the Scottish army, to take advantage of its diminished numbers, and compel it at least to raise the siege of Hereford. On his way, as he passed Ragland, he was informed that Fairfax had just invested Bristol, the most important of his possessions in the west; but the place was strong; Prince Rupert was there with a good garrison to defend it, and promised to hold out for four months. The King was, therefore, free from anxiety regarding it. When at a day's march from Hereford, he learned that, at the news of his approach, the Scots had raised the siege, and were retreating precipitately towards the north. His officers urged him to pursue them; they were perplexed, fatigued, and in disorder, and the country through which they had to pass was ill-disposed towards them; to harass them would probably be sufficient to destroy them. But Charles was himself fatigued by an activity which exceeded his strength. He declared that he must march to the relief of Bristol, and, pending the arrival of some troops which had been recalled from the west for this purpose, he returned to Ragland Castle, attracted by the charms of that residence, or in order to arrange with the Marquis of Worcester that great and mys-

worth, part iv. vol. i. p. 231.—Lesley had left the siege of Hereford in the early part of August, and the battle of Kilsyth did not occur until the 16th. He had, therefore, evidently been detached from the Scottish army in order to pursue the King, and could not have been so soon recalled to defend his country.

terious business which they had been so long meditating together.¹

No sooner had he arrived at Ragland than he received some most unexpected intelligence. Prince Rupert had surrendered Bristol, on the 11th of September, at the first assault, almost without offering any resistance, and before he had felt any lack of either ramparts, provisions, or soldiers. Charles was filled with consternation; his affairs were now utterly ruined in the west, and his hopes most bitterly disappointed. He wrote at once to the Prince from Hereford, on the 14th of September: “Nephew,—Though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did is of so much affliction to me, that it makes me not only forget the consideration of that place, but is likewise the greatest trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me. For what is to be done after one that is so near me as you are, both in blood and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action (I give it the easiest term)? such—I have so much to say, that I will say no more of it; only, lest rashness of judgment be laid to my charge, I must remember you of your letter of the 12th of August, whereby you assured me that, if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months. Did you keep it four days? Was there anything like a mutiny? More questions might be asked, but now, I confess, to little purpose. My conclusion is to desire

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 249—251; Walker's *Discourses*, p. 136; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 121—123.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 65—68.

you to seek your subsistence, until it shall please God to determine of my condition, somewhere beyond seas; to which end I send you herewith a pass; and I pray God to make you sensible of your present condition, and give you means to redeem what you have lost; for I shall have no greater joy in a victory than a just occasion, without blushing, to assure you of my being, your loving uncle and most faithful friend, C. R.”¹

On the same day he wrote to Oxford, whither the Prince had retired, to order the Lords of the Council to require him to give up his commission, to watch all his movements, to dismiss Colonel William Legg, the governor of Oxford, who was a particular friend of Rupert, and, finally, to arrest both the colonel and the prince if any tumult were excited. His letter was addressed to Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, and terminated with this postscript: “Tell my son that I shall less grieve to hear that he is knocked on the head, than that he should do so mean an action as is the rendering of Bristol castle and fort upon the terms it was.”²

One resource still remained to the King—his old plan, which he had already attempted without success,—to join Montrose. It was, moreover, necessary that he should march towards the north to relieve Chester, which was again besieged, and which, since the loss of Bristol, was the only port to which succour could be

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 252.

² Evelyn's *Diary and Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 165; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 253.

sent him from Ireland, now his only hope. After spending a week at Hereford in deep despondency, he set out on his march across the mountains of Wales, the only road by which he could escape a body of Parliamentarians who, under the command of Major-general Poyntz, were watching all his movements. His own army consisted of about five thousand men, chiefly Welsh infantry, and Cavaliers from the northern counties. He was already within sight of Chester when the Parliamentarians, who had begun their march later, but had come by an easier and more direct road, came up with his rear-guard.¹ Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded it, charged the enemy with such vigour, that they were forced to fall back in disorder. But Colonel Jones, who was directing the siege, detached a body of troops, and fell suddenly on the royalist rear. Poyntz rallied his men. The King, placed between two fires, saw his best officers fall around him, and was soon compelled to fly. He returned to Wales in utter despair, separated once more, as by an insurmountable barrier, from the camp of Montrose, which was now his last hope.

But even this hope was now a mere delusion; for ten days, Montrose, like the King, had been a fugitive, in search of a hiding-place and soldiers. On the 13th of September, at Philiphaugh, in Ettrick Forest, not far from the English border, Lesley had surprised him in a weak position, and before he suspected his approach. Notwithstanding all his efforts

¹ At Rowton Heath, on the 24th of September, 1645; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 117; Clarendon's Rebellion, vol. v. p. 284.

to keep them together, the Highlanders had left him to return home and deposit their booty in a place of safety. Several noblemen, among others the Earl of Aboyne, envious of his renown, had also left him with their vassals; and others, such as the Lords Traquair, Hume, and Roxburgh, distrustful of his good fortune, had not kept their promises to join him.¹ Brilliant and headstrong in his character, he filled mean spirits with envy, and inspired the timid with no feeling of security. A tendency to boastfulness disfigured his genius and diminished his influence; though his friends served him with passionate ardour, and his soldiers followed him with enthusiasm, he was not respected by his equals. His power, moreover, rested solely upon his victories; and the prudent men, who daily became more numerous, regarded him with surprise, as a meteor whose course nothing can check, but which must quickly pass out of sight. One reverse sufficed to obliterate all his successes; and the day after his defeat, the conqueror of Scotland was looked upon as no better than an audacious outlaw.

On hearing of this terrible blow, Charles looked around him with terror, uncertain where to rest his hope. Nor did he know whom to consult in his emergency. His wisest advisers, Capel, Colepepper, and Hyde, were with his son. Lord Digby was almost the only one who remained with him, and he was still adventurous and confident, ever ready to meet reverses with new schemes, but, notwithstanding the sincerity of his zeal, chiefly anxious to maintain his

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 231; Guthrie's *Memoirs*, p. 198.

own influence. The King's idea was to retire at once to the Welsh coast, and spend the winter in the Isle of Anglesey, which was not far from Ireland, and could easily be defended. But he was without difficulty dissuaded from thus forsaking his kingdom, in which he still possessed many strong towns, Worcester, Hereford, Chester, Oxford, and Newark. The majority were in favour of his proceeding to Worcester, but nothing could have been more unpalatable to Lord Digby than such a step. He was the declared enemy of Prince Rupert, and it was he who, after the surrender of Bristol, had fomented the King's anger, and urged him, it was said, to treat his nephew with such severity. Rupert was furious, and was resolved, at all risks, to see the King, justify himself, and revenge the injury. At Worcester, he would easily have found an opportunity for doing so, for his brother, Prince Maurice, was governor of the town. Of all places to which the King, could retire, Newark was the one which Rupert would find it most difficult to reach, and obtain a hearing. To the great surprise of all around him, the King decided on going to Newark.¹

The prince was soon informed of his resolution, and notwithstanding all orders to the contrary, set out at once to see the King. Charles reiterated his determination not to receive him ; but Lord Digby was uneasy. Either from chance or design, the report suddenly spread that Montrose had repaired his defeat, beaten Lesley, and made his way to the borders. Without waiting for further information, the King set out with

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 288.

Lord Digby and two thousand horse, to make a third effort to join him. His error was soon dispelled ; after two days' march, it became undeniably certain, that Montrose, without soldiers, was still wandering through the northern Highlands. The King could do nothing but return to Newark, as Digby himself admitted. But for his own part, he was fully resolved not to return thither, at the risk of meeting Prince Rupert ; he therefore persuaded the King that it was indispensably necessary to send assistance to Montrose, and undertook to convey it himself. They parted ; Digby, with fifteen hundred horse, nearly all the King's remaining army, continued his march towards the north ; and Charles returned to Newark, with three or four hundred horse under his command, and John Ashburnham, his valet, for his only councillor.¹

On his arrival, he learned that Rupert was at Belvoir Castle, nine miles from Newark, with his brother Maurice, and an escort of a hundred and twenty officers. He sent him word to remain there until further orders, as he was already offended at his having come so far without permission. But the prince continued to approach, and many officers of the garrison of Newark, including even the governor, Sir Richard Willis, went out to meet him. He arrived, and presented himself before the King, unannounced, and with his whole retinue. "Sire," he said, "I am come to render an account of the loss of Bristol, and to clear myself from those imputations which have been cast on me." Charles, equally per-

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 294.

plexed and irritated, returned him scarcely any answer. It was supper time; the prince's escort withdrew, and the royal party sat down to table; the King conversed with Maurice, without saying a word to Rupert, and when supper was over, retired to his own room.¹ Rupert took up his abode at the governor's house. The next day, however, the King consented that a council of war should be called; and after deliberating three hours, it adopted a declaration that the prince had been wanting neither in courage nor fidelity. No entreaties could obtain any further concession from the King.

This was not enough for the prince and his partisans. They remained at Newark, giving unrestrained expression to their ill humour. The King, on his side, determined to put a stop to the constantly-increasing disorders of the garrison. For two thousand men, there were twenty-four general officers or colonels, whose pay absorbed nearly all the contributions of the country.² The gentlemen of the neighbourhood, even those most devoted to the King, complained bitterly of the governor. Charles resolved to remove him, but in order not to lose his services, to give him some office about his person. He therefore announced to Willis his appointment as colonel of the Royal Horse Guards. Sir Richard declined, saying, that this promotion would be regarded as a disgrace, and that he was too poor to live at Court. "I will take care and provide for your support," said the King, dis-

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 296.

² Ibid. vol. v. pp. 298, 299.

missing him. On the same day, Charles had just sat down to dinner, when Sir Richard Willis, with the two princes, Lord Gerrard, and about twenty officers of the garrison, abruptly entered the room. "What your Majesty said to me in private," said Willis, "is now the public talk of the town, and very much to my dishonour." "Sir Richard is to be removed from his government," added Rupert, "for no fault that he has committed, but for being my friend." "It is the plot of the Lord Digby," said Lord Gerrard, "who is a traitor, and I will prove him to be so." Surprised and perplexed, Charles rose from table, and moving towards his own room, ordered Willis to follow him. "No," replied Willis, "I have received a public injury, and I therefore expect a public satisfaction." At this refusal, Charles, losing all self-command, darted towards them, pale with anger, and with a loud voice and threatening gestures, ordered them "to depart from his presence, and come no more into it." Agitated in their turn, they all left the room hurriedly, returned to the governor's house, sounded to horse, and left the town with about two hundred Cavaliers.

All the garrison, and all the inhabitants, hastened to offer the King fresh assurances of their undiminished devotion and respect. In the evening, the malcontents sent to him to request passes, and besought him not to consider their conduct mutinous. "I will not now christen it a mutiny," said the King, "but it looks very like one. As for the passes, they shall be immediately prepared for as many as desire to have them." Before he had recovered from the

emotion into which he had been thrown by this scene, news reached him that Lord Digby, on his march to Scotland, had been encountered and defeated by a body of Parliamentarians at Sherburne, in Yorkshire, that his Cavaliers were utterly dispersed, and that no one knew what had become of Digby himself.¹ The north, therefore, now offered the King neither soldiers nor hope. Even Newark had ceased to be a place of safety; Poyntz had approached with his troops, taking possession of all the neighbouring places one after another, and drawing his lines every day closer and closer around the town, so that it was already doubtful whether the King would be able to pass. On the 3rd of November, at about eleven o'clock in the evening, four or five hundred horse, the surviving remnant of several regiments, were assembled on the market-place; the King made his appearance, took the command of one of the squadrons, and left Newark by the Oxford road. He had shaved off his beard to avoid recognition; two small royalist garrisons, which lay on his route, were informed of his design; he rode night and day, with great difficulty avoiding the troops and towns of the enemy; and on reaching Oxford, on the 6th of November, he believed himself once more in safety, for there he found his Council and Court, and was able to resume his old habits, and to take some repose.²

He was, ere long, pursued thither by misfortune.

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 292, 293; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 128—134.

² Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 301, 302; Walker's *Discourses*, pp. 146, 147; Evelyn's *Diary*, vol. iv. pp. 170—172.

the elections, appointing them separately one after another ; sometimes delaying and sometimes hastening them, as their likelihood of success varied, and employing alternately craft and violence, the usual tactics of conquerors when in a minority. Many men, who soon became eminent leaders of their party—Fairfax, Ludlow, Ireton, Blake, Sidney, Hutchinson, and Fleetwood—now entered the House. The elections, however, did not everywhere lead to the same result: many of the counties returned to Westminster men, who, though opposed to the Court, were strangers to all faction, and friends to legal order and peace. But, on their arrival at the seat of government, they were destitute of experience, had no bond of union or recognised leaders, and were but little disposed to rally round the old Presbyterian chiefs, who had, for the most part, lost their former reputation for uprightness, energy, and ability. They created little sensation, and exercised little influence; and the first consequence of this recruitment of the House was greatly to increase the power and daring of the Independents.¹ The acts of the Parliament, from this time forth, assumed a more decisive character. It had been discovered that, during their residence in London, the King's Commissioners had been intriguing with a view

months of 1645, a hundred and forty-six new members were elected. Of the fifty-eight members who signed the order for the execution of Charles I., seventeen were persons elected at this period. In 1646 there were eighty-nine new elections. See the Journals of the House of Commons for the above dates.

¹ Hollis's *Memoirs*, p. 42; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, pp. 72, 73; Whitelocke, pp. 166, 168; *Old Parliamentary History*, vol. ix. p. 12; vol. xiv. pp. 306–309.

to form plots and rouse the people; on the 11th of August, it was resolved that no more Commissioners should be received, that no further negotiations should be carried on, but that the Houses should prepare their propositions of peace in the form of bills, and that the King should be required simply to adopt or reject them, as he would have done, if resident at Whitehall, and acting according to regular practice.¹ On the 20th of September, the Prince of Wales offered to act as mediator between the King and the people, and Fairfax transmitted his letter to the Parliament, saying that he thought it "a duty not to hinder the hopeful blossom of the young peace-maker." But no answer was sent him.² The term assigned for Cromwell's continuance in his command was on the point of expiring: on the 12th of August, his commission was again renewed for four months, without any reason being assigned for the step.³ The Royalist party were treated with redoubled severity: a former ordinance had allowed the wives and children of delinquents a fifth part of their sequestrated estates; on the 8th of September, this ordinance was repealed.⁴ Another ordinance, which was long resisted by the Lords, enacted the sale of a considerable portion of the property of the bishops and other delinquents.⁵ A similar revolution took place in the camp, and in

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 390.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 339; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 392.

³ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 390.

⁴ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 209.

⁵ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 391; Whitelocke, p. 172.

the conduct of the war. Orders had been issued on the 24th of October, 1644, that no quarter should be given to the Irish who were taken in England with arms in their hands;¹ they were now shot by hundreds,² or tied back to back, and thrown into the sea.³ Even among Englishmen, there no longer existed that gentleness and courtesy which had so frequently been manifested in the earlier campaigns, and which revealed a similarity of condition, education and manners in the two parties, and their retention of peaceful habits and desires even in the midst of war. In the Parliamentary ranks, Fairfax was almost the only leader who retained this feeling of refined humanity; the officers and soldiers who surrounded him had, for the most part, risen from the ranks, and though brave and able men, were rough in their manners, or fanatics of violent and sombre disposition, whose only thought was victory, and who regarded the Cavaliers in the light of enemies alone. The Cavaliers, on their part, feeling it almost an insult to be overcome by such adversaries, sought their consolation or revenge in ridicule, epigrams, and songs, which daily grew more insolent in their character.⁴ Thus the war became

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. ii. p. 783.

² Ibid. part iv. vol. i. p. 231; Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. p. 164.

Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 122.

⁴ The most remarkable of these songs are those which were composed in ridicule of David Lesley and his Scots, when he broke up the siege of Hereford to march to the defence of Scotland, which had been almost entirely subjugated by Montrose, whom he defeated on the 13th of September, 1645, at the battle of Philiphaugh. No defeat had yet robbed the Cavaliers of such brilliant hopes, and their anger was therefore vented with unusual vigour. One of the most spirited of these songs will be found in Appendix VIII.

stern, and sometimes even cruel, in its nature, as though it were carried on between men whose knowledge of each other had produced only mutual contempt and hatred. At the same time, the misunderstanding between the Scots and the Parliament, which had hitherto been kept in check, broke out unrestrainedly; the former complained that their army was not paid; the latter expressed its indignation that an army of allies should, like a hostile force, pillage and devastate the counties which it occupied.¹ In a word, the increase of the national excitement all over the country, the deepening of all feelings of enmity, and the harsher and more decisive measures adopted by the Parliament, left but little probability that peace would terminate, or a truce suspend, the already rapid course of events.

The King's overtures were rejected, and all safe-conduct refused to his negociators. He repeated his demand in two other messages, with no greater success; he was told that the past intrigues of his courtiers in the City rendered it impossible to allow them to come again.² He offered to repair to Westminster in person, to treat directly with the Parliament;³ but notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Scots, this proposition was also rejected.⁴ He renewed his entreaties,⁵ less in the hope of succeeding in his suit, than in order to discredit the Parliament in the opinion of the

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 393, 394—398, 405.

² December 26, 1645; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 414.

³ December 26—30, 1645; *ibid.* vol. iii. cols. 415—417.

⁴ January 13, 1646; *ibid.* vol. iii. cols. 418—421.

⁵ January 15, 1646; *ibid.* vol. iii. col. 421.

people, who were anxious for peace. But his enemies had recently become possessed of a surer means of casting discredit upon himself. They solemnly announced that they had at length discovered certain proof of the duplicity of his language; that he had just concluded with the Irish, not a mere cessation of arms, but a treaty of alliance; that ten thousand of those rebels, under the command of the Earl of Glamorgan, were soon to land at Chester; that the price of this abominable assistance was the complete abolition of all penal laws against the Catholics, full liberty in the exercise of their worship, and the acknowledgment of their right to the churches and lands of which they had taken possession,—in other words, the triumph of Popery in Ireland, and the ruin of the Protestants. A copy of the treaty, and several letters relating to it, had been found in the carriage of the Archbishop of Tuam, one of the leaders of the insurgents, who had been accidentally killed in a skirmish, on the 17th of October, under the walls of Sligo. The Committee of both kingdoms, which, for three months, had kept these documents in reserve for some important occasion, now laid them before Parliament, which ordered their immediate publication.¹

The King's discomfiture was extreme; the facts were undeniable; the Parliament did not even know all. For nearly two years,² Charles had been personally conducting this negotiation, without the knowledge of

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 428; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 238.

² The King's first commission to Glamorgan is dated on the 1st of April, 1644.

his party or council, and sometimes even without communicating his plans to the Marquis of Ormonde, his lieutenant in Ireland, although he had no doubt of his zeal, and could not dispense with his co-operation. A Catholic nobleman, Lord Herbert, the eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester, who had recently been created Earl of Glamorgan, alone possessed the King's entire confidence in this business. Brave, generous, reckless, and passionately devoted to the cause of his imperilled sovereign and his oppressed religion, Glamorgan travelled incessantly between England and Ireland, between Dublin and Kilkenny, undertaking all that Ormonde declined to do, and alone knowing how far the King's concessions might be extended. It was he who conducted the correspondence of Charles with Rinuccini, the Pope's nuncio, who had arrived in Ireland in October, 1645, and with the Pope himself. Finally, the King had formally authorized him, by an act dated on the 12th of March, 1645, signed with his own hand, and known to themselves alone, to concede to the Irish all that he might deem necessary, in order to obtain from them effectual help; and had promised to approve and ratify all, however illegal the concessions might be; merely desiring that nothing should transpire, until he could usefully avow the whole transaction. The treaty had been concluded on the 20th of August preceding, and Glamorgan, who still remained in Ireland, urgently pressed its execution. This was the secret of the frequent visits and long sojourns of the King at Ragland Castle, the residence of the Marquis of Worcester, and of those

mysterious hopes to which he sometimes vaguely alluded in the midst of his reverses.¹

News reached Oxford and Dublin almost at the same time, that this treaty had become known in London. Ormonde at once perceived the great injury which would accrue to the King's affairs from this discovery, even among his own party. Either because he was really unaware, as he himself states, that Charles had authorized such concessions, or, more probably, because he was anxious to put the King in a position to disavow them, he ordered the instant arrest of Glamorgan,² on the ground that he had exceeded his powers, and gravely compromised his sovereign by granting the rebels privileges which all the laws denied them. Steadfast in his devotion to the King's service, Glamorgan remained silent, and did not produce the secret acts signed *Charles*, which he had in his hands, but stated that the King was not bound to ratify all that he had thought it his duty to promise in his name. Charles, on his side, hastened to disavow his conduct, in a proclamation addressed to the Parliament on the 29th of January, 1646,³ and in an official letter to the Council at Dublin on the 31st of the same month.⁴ According to his statement, Glamorgan had instructions merely to raise troops, and to second the efforts of the Lord Lieutenant; but, among both

¹ Dr. Lingard has collected and stated with great clearness all the facts relating to this negotiation, in his *History of England*, vol. vi. pp. 537—541, 655—664.

On the 4th of January, 1646.

² *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 435.

³ *Carte's Life of Ormonde*, vol. iii. pp. 445—447.

parties, mendacity was now only an old and useless practice; and no one, not even among the common people, was deceived by the falsehood. On the 1st of February, Glamorgan was released from arrest, and immediately recommenced his negotiations for the introduction of an Irish army into England, on the same terms as before. The Parliament voted, on the 31st of January, that the King's justification was unsatisfactory;¹ on the 27th, Cromwell was, for the last time, continued in his command;² and Charles found himself compelled once more to seek safety in war, though he was no longer in a position to carry on warlike operations.

Two bodies of troops alone remained at his disposal: one in Cornwall, under the command of Lord Hopton, the other on the frontiers of Wales, under Lord Astley. Towards the middle of January, the Prince of Wales, who was still governor of the west, though he had been forsaken by Goring and Greenville, his former generals, had sent for Lord Hopton, long the leading man in the western counties, and besought him to resume the command of the wreck of an army which still remained about him. "My lord," answered Hopton, "it is a custom now, when men are not willing to submit to what they are enjoined, to say that it is against their honour, that their honour will not suffer them to do this or that. For my part, I could not obey your Highness at this time, without resolving to lose my honour. I shall have to

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 438.

² Ibid. vol. iii. col. 428.

command men whom only their friends fear and their enemies laugh at, who are only terrible in plunder and resolute in running away. But since your Highness has thought necessary to command me, I am ready to obey, even with the loss of my honour." And he placed himself at the head of seven or eight thousand men.¹ But he soon became as hateful to them as their excesses were offensive to him ; even the brave could not endure his discipline and vigilance, after having been accustomed under Goring to a less troublesome and more profitable mode of warfare. Fairfax, still bent on reducing the west to submission, lost no time in marching against them ; and on the 16th of February, at Torrington on the borders of Cornwall, Hopton suffered a defeat, more disastrous in its consequences than bloody in its character. As he retreated from town to town, he strove in vain to rally his army ; but both officers and soldiers alike failed him. " From the hour I undertook this charge," he said, " to the hour of their dissolving, scarce a party or guard appeared with half the number appointed, or within two hours of the time."² Fairfax daily pressed him more closely. At the head of the small corps which still remained faithful to him, Hopton soon found himself driven to the furthest extremity of Cornwall. At Truro, he was informed that, weary of the war, the people of the country contemplated putting an end to it by seizing the Prince of Wales and giving him up to the Parliament. The critical moment had now

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 307.

² *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 316.

arrived; the Prince put to sea, with his council, but retired only to the island of Scilly, where he was still on English soil, and almost within sight of the coast. Free from anxiety on his account, Hopton wished to try the fortune of battle once more; but his troops loudly demanded that he should capitulate. Fairfax sent to offer him honourable conditions; Hopton evaded compliance; his officers declared that, if he would not consent to terms, they would treat without him; he then allowed them to treat on their own account, but neither he nor Lord Capel would be included in the capitulation. When the articles had been signed and the army disbanded, these two noblemen embarked to join the Prince at Scilly; and a few insignificant garrisons were now all that remained to the King in the south-west.¹

Lord Astley had no better fate; he was at Worcester with three thousand men; the King sent him orders to join him at Oxford, and marched out himself, with fifteen hundred horse, to meet him. He was anxious to have about him a sufficient body of men to wait for the reinforcements from Ireland, which he still expected. But on the 22nd of March, before they had been able to effect a junction, Sir William Brereton and Colonel Morgan, at the head of a body of Parliamentarians, came up with Astley, whose movements they had been watching for more than a month, at Stow, in Gloucestershire. The Cavaliers were completely routed; eighteen hundred of them

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 321, 322; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 99—115.

were killed or taken prisoners, and the rest fled. Astley himself, after a desperate resistance, fell into the hands of the enemy. He was old, wearied by the fight, and found it painful to walk; the soldiers, moved by his grey hairs and his courage, brought him a drum; he sat down on it, and addressing Brereton's officers, said: "Gentlemen, you may now sit down and play, for you have done all your work, if you fall not out among yourselves."¹

That his enemies might thus be made to quarrel was now the King's only hope, and he attempted at once to sow discord among them. For some time already, and even whilst he was loading many of the Presbyterian leaders with dangerous attentions, he had maintained a secret correspondence with the Independents, and particularly with Vane, who was no less active in intrigue than passionate as an enthusiast. Very recently, on the 2nd of March, his Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas, had written to urge Vane to use his influence to obtain leave for the King to come to London, and treat in person with the Parliament, and had promised him that, if the Houses insisted on the predominance of Presbyterian discipline in the Church, the Royalists would join with the Independents "in rooting out of the kingdom that tyrannical government, that my master may not have his conscience disturbed, yours also being free."² It is not known what answer was sent by Vane to this letter; but,

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 139—141; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xiv. pp. 297—302.

² Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 173.

after Astley's defeat, the King himself wrote to Vane : " Be very confident that all things shall be performed according to my promise. By all that is good, I conjure you to dispatch that courtesy for me with all speed, or it will be too late ; I shall perish before I receive the fruits of it. I may not tell you my necessities, but if it were necessary so to do, I am sure you would lay all other considerations aside, and fulfil my desires. This is all ; trust me, I will repay your favour to the full. I have done. If I have not an answer within four days after the receipt of this, I shall be necessitated to find some other expedient. God direct you ! I have discharged my duty." ¹ At the same time, he sent a message to the Parliament, offering to disband his troops, to throw open his garri-sons, and to take up his residence once more in Whitehall. ²

At this proposal, and on the supposition that the King, without waiting for an answer, might suddenly make his appearance in the capital, the greatest alarm prevailed in Westminster ; whether politicians or fanatics, Presbyterians or Independents, all were fully conscious that, if the King were at Whitehall, riots would not break out in the City against him ; and all were equally resolved not to place themselves at his mercy. They at once took the most violent measures to avert this danger ; all persons were forbidden, on the severest penalties, either to receive the King, or to go out to

¹ Evelyn's *Diary and Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 174 ; Clarendon's *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 227.—The letter was neither dated nor signed.

² On the 23rd of March, 1646 ; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 451.

meet him if he came to London, or to supply any one with the means of approaching his person. The committee of militia received authority to prevent any concourse of people, to arrest all who came with the King, to hinder any procession to welcome him, and even, in case of need, to secure his person from all danger. All papists, delinquents, reformed officers, soldiers of fortune, or other persons who had taken part against the Parliament, were ordered to quit London within three days.¹ Finally, on the 3rd of April, a court-martial was instituted, and the punishment of death decreed against all persons who should, either directly or indirectly, maintain any correspondence with the King, or come without a pass from any camp or town in the King's hands, or harbour or conceal any person who had borne arms against the Parliament, or voluntarily allow any prisoner of war to escape, and so forth.² Never had any act of the Parliament borne the impress of so much terror.

Vane, on his side, left the King's letter unanswered, or at all events, made no attempt to comply with his request.

Meanwhile, Fairfax's troops were advancing rapidly to blockade Oxford; and already Colonel Rainsborough had encamped, with three regiments, within sight of the town. The King sent an offer to surrender to Rainsborough, if he would pledge his word to take him at once to the Parliament. Rainsborough refused

¹ By Acts of the 31st March and 3rd April, 1646; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 452, 453; *Rushworth*, part iv. vol. i. p. 249.

² *Rushworth*, part iv. vol. i. p. 252.

to do so. In a few days, the blockade could not fail to be complete; and however long it might be continued, the result was inevitable—the King must fall as a prisoner of war into the hands of his enemies.¹

One only refuge remained accessible to him, and that was the camp of the Scots. For more than two months, M. de Montreuil, the French ambassador in England, from pity of the King's distresses, rather than in obedience to any instructions he had received from Mazarin, had been labouring to secure him this last asylum. Rebuffed at first by the Scottish Commissioners who were residing in London, and convinced by a visit to Edinburgh that nothing was to be expected from the Scottish Parliament, he had finally addressed himself to some of the leaders of the army which was besieging Newark; and they had seemed to him so favourably disposed that, on the 1st of April, 1646, he had felt himself justified in promising the King in the name and under the guarantee of the King of France, that the Scots would receive him as their legitimate Sovereign, would guard himself and his family from all danger, and would even co-operate with him to the utmost of their power in procuring the re-establishment of peace. The irresolution and frequent retractions of the Scottish officers, however, who, though willing to save the King, had no wish to quarrel with the Parliament, soon made it evident to Montreuil that he had gone too far, and he hastened to send information of his too great precipitancy to Oxford. But in the meanwhile, the daily-increasing

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 393.

pressure of necessity had rendered both the King and Montreuil himself less exigent; and the Queen, who, though resident in Paris, had many friends and agents in the Scottish army, urged her husband to place entire confidence in its loyalty. In subsequent conferences, the officers made some few promises to Montreuil. He at once informed the King of this, but carefully impressed upon him, at the same time, that the step was fraught with great danger, and that any other refuge would be preferable; and merely stated that, if he had no other asylum, he would be sure to find full security, for his person at least, in the camp of the Scots.¹

Whether he had made up his mind or not as to the wisdom of the step, Charles was no longer able to wait. Fairfax was already at Newbury, and in three days the blockade of Oxford would be complete. At midnight, on the 27th of April, attended only by Ashburnham and Dr. Hudson, a clergyman who was well acquainted with the road, the King left Oxford on horseback, disguised as Ashburnham's servant, and carrying a valise behind him. At the same time, in order to mislead all suspicions, three men rode out at every other gate of the town. The King took the road to London. On reaching Harrow hill, within sight of his capital, he halted in great anxiety: he might have gone on, re-entered Whitehall, and appeared suddenly in the midst of the City, which would in all probability have welcomed his return. But

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 383—391; Clarendon's *State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 211—226.

nothing was more repugnant to him than any bold or unusual resolve, for he was sadly deficient in presence of mind, and was most fearful of those contingencies which might compromise his dignity. After prolonged hesitation, he turned away from London, and proceeded northwards, but slowly and carelessly, like a man who was still uncertain what to do. Montreuil had promised to meet him at Harborough, in Leicestershire, but did not keep his appointment. The King, in great uneasiness, sent Hudson in search of him, and fell back into the eastern counties, wandering from town to town—from house to house—chiefly along the coast, incessantly changing his disguise, and inquiring everywhere for news of Montrose, whom he still earnestly desired to join. But this also was too long and difficult an enterprise for him to attempt. Hudson returned, and announced that no change had taken place in the aspect of affairs; Montreuil still promised him a safe, if not an agreeable, retreat in the Scottish camp. Charles at length decided on going thither, from weariness rather than from choice; and early on the morning of the 5th of May, nine days after his departure from Oxford, Montreuil conducted him to Kelham, the headquarters of the Scots.¹

On seeing the King, the Earl of Leven and his officers affected extreme surprise; information of his arrival was sent immediately to the Parliamentary

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 267; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 394; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 228; Whitlocke, p. 203.

Commissioners ; and expresses were despatched with the news to Edinburgh and London. Both officers and soldiers treated the King with extreme respect ; but, in the evening, under the pretext of paying him the honours due to his rank, a strong guard was placed at his door ; and when, in order to ascertain his real position, he attempted to give the watchword for the night, Lord Leven "told him, in his homely manner, that he, being the older soldier, would save his Majesty that trouble."¹

¹ Laing's History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 352.

BOOK VII.

ANXIETIES AND INTRIGUES OF THE INDEPENDENTS—RESIDENCE OF THE KING AT NEWCASTLE—HE REJECTS THE PROPOSITIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT—NEGOTIATIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT WITH THE SCOTS TO INDUCE THEM TO GIVE UP THE KING AND LEAVE THE COUNTRY—CONSENT OF THE SCOTS—THE KING IS CONDUCTED TO HOLMBY—OUTBREAK OF DISCORD BETWEEN THE PARLIAMENT AND THE ARMY—CONDUCT OF CROMWELL—HE PROCURES THE KING'S REMOVAL FROM HOLMBY—THE ARMY MARCHES UPON LONDON, AND IMPEACHES ELEVEN PRESBYTERIAN LEADERS—THEY RETIRE FROM PARLIAMENT—THE KING AT HAMPTON COURT—NEGOTIATIONS OF THE ARMY WITH HIM—RIOT IN THE CITY IN FAVOUR OF PEACE—SECESSION OF A LARGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES TO THE ARMY—THEIR RETURN TO LONDON—DEFEAT OF THE PRESBYTERIANS—OUTBREAKS OF THE REPUBLICANS AND LEVELLERS—CROMWELL BECOMES SUSPECTED BY THE SOLDIERS—THEY MUTINY AGAINST THEIR OFFICERS—CROMWELL'S PRUDENT CONDUCT—THE KING'S TERROR, AND FLIGHT TO THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

It became known in London, on the 2nd of May, that the King had escaped from Oxford, but no clue had been obtained either as to where he was, or whither it was his intention to proceed. A report was spread that he was in concealment in the City, and all who harboured him were again threatened with death, without mercy. Fairfax sent word that he had gone into the eastern counties, and two officers of approved fidelity, Colonels Russell and Wharton, were sent

thither immediately, with orders to search for him in all quarters, and take him at all risks.¹ All parties, both Parliamentarians and Royalists, were harassed by the same uncertainty, and bore their hopes and fears with equal impatience.

On the evening of the 6th of May, the news at length arrived that the King was in the Scottish camp. On the following day, the Commons voted that the two Houses alone possessed the right of disposing of the King's person, and that he should be conducted without delay to Warwick Castle. The Lords refused to ratify the vote; but they agreed that Poyntz, who was quartered near Newark, should be ordered to watch all the movements of the Scottish army; and Fairfax himself was directed to hold himself in readiness to march in case of need.²

The Scots, on their side, were anxious to return home. On the very day of his arrival among them, they induced the King to send orders to Lord Bellasis, the governor of Newark, to open to them the gates of the town; they then gave up the place to Poyntz and his troops, and a few hours afterwards, with the King in their advanced guard, began their march towards Newcastle, on the borders of their own country.³

The Independents were animated by mingled feelings of anxiety and irritation. For more than a year they had succeeded in all their undertakings:

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 267; Whitelocke, p. 203.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 465, 466.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 267—271; May's Breviary, p. 135; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 467.

masters of the army, they had been everywhere victorious, and had produced, by their victories, a strong impression on the imagination of the people: under their banners were enlisted all the men of bold spirit, restless ambition, and lofty hopes—all who had their fortunes to make, or entertained immoderate desires, or meditated great designs. Genius itself could find scope and freedom only in their ranks. Milton,¹ still young, but already remarkable for the elegance and extent of his learning, had recently asserted, in nobler language than had ever before been used for the purpose, liberty of conscience, liberty of the press, and freedom of divorce;² and the Presbyterian clergy, filled with indignation at his boldness, had vainly denounced his writings to the Parliament, and placed the toleration of such works on the list of its sins.³ Another man, already well known by his determined resistance to tyranny, John Lilburne, had begun his unwearied warfare against lords, judges, and lawyers, and the noisiest popularity already attached to his name.⁴ The number and confidence of the Dissenting congregations,⁵ all of whom made common cause with

¹ Born in London, on the 9th of December, 1608.

² In five pamphlets against Prelacy, and upon Reformation of the Church, published in 1641-2; in a pamphlet on 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' published in 1644; and in a 'Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing,' also published in 1644.

³ Milton's Prose Works, vol. iii., *passim*.

⁴ Old Parliamentary History, vol. xv. pp. 19-28.

⁵ The number of Anabaptist congregations, for instance, was fifty-four in 1648. Thomas Edwards, a Presbyterian Minister, published in 1645, under the title of *Gangrena*, a list of these sects, with a view to call down upon them the anger of Parliament; he enumerated sixteen principal denominations, and yet had omitted several.—Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. pp. 310-313.

the Independents, daily increased. In vain had the Presbyterians at length obtained from the Parliament the official and exclusive establishment of their church:¹ with the help of the lawyers and free-thinkers, the Independents had succeeded in maintaining the supremacy of the Parliament in religious matters;² and the measure, thus robbed of its strength, was carried out slowly and imperfectly.³ At the same time, the personal influence of the leaders of the Independent party, and of Cromwell especially, was visibly on the increase. When they came from the army to Westminster, the Houses welcomed them with solemn demonstrations of respect;⁴ and when they returned to the army, the gifts of money and lands, gratuities and offices, which were lavished on their creatures, attested and augmented their importance.⁵ Throughout the country, in London and in the provinces, in all matters involving politics or religion, interests or ideas, the social movement pronounced itself more and more openly in favour of the

¹ By various ordinances or votes of the 23rd August, 20th October, and 8th November, 1645, and the 20th February and 14th March, 1646.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 205, 210, 224.

² Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii. pp. 231—270; *Commons Journals*, vol. iv. pp. 287, 303; *Baillie's Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 194, 196, 198; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 159.

³ The Presbyterian Church was completely established only in London and Lancashire.—Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 347.

⁴ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 463, 529.

⁵ On the 7th of February, 1646, the Parliament granted Cromwell lands of the annual value of 2500*l.*, from the sequestrated estates of the Marquis of Worcester. *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 439. Some months later, an annuity of 5000*l.* was conferred on Fairfax. In October, 1646, Sir William Brereton received a gratuity of 5000*l.*; and in December, 1646, 2000*l.* was presented to Sir Peter Killigrew.—Whitelocke, pp. 224, 231.

Independent party. And in the midst of all this prosperity, when on the verge of obtaining the reins of power, they found themselves threatened with ruin; for they could not fail to lose all if the King and the Presbyterians should combine together against them.

They used every effort to ward off this blow. Had they been free to follow the bent of their own inclination, they would probably have ordered the army to march at once against the Scots, and recapture the King by main force; but, notwithstanding their success in the recent elections, they were compelled to act with greater reserve; for they were in a minority in the Upper House, and in the House of Commons they possessed only a precarious ascendancy, derived rather from the inexperience of the new members than from their real sympathy. They consequently had recourse to indirect measures. By all possible means, boldly and craftily, openly and secretly, they endeavoured either to offend the Scots, or to incense the people against them, in the hope of bringing about a rupture. The Scottish couriers were arrested, and their despatches intercepted at the very gates of London, by subalterns whom they vainly strove to bring to punishment;¹ and petitions were poured in against them from the northern counties, in which loud complaints were made of their extortions and disorders, and of the sufferings entailed upon the country by their presence.² On the 26th of May, Alderman Foote presented a petition from the City in

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 469; Whitelocke, p. 205.

² Whitelocke, pp. 207, 209, 216, 217, 221.

their favour, and prayed the Parliament to take measures to repress the new sectaries, who were the promoters of all disturbances in Church and State:¹ the Lords thanked the Common Council for their address, but the Commons would hardly condescend to return a brief and dry answer. Some regiments of Essex's old army still remained, in which Presbyterian opinions prevailed; among others, a brigade quartered in Wiltshire, under the command of Major-General Massey, the valiant defender of Gloucester: complaints of every kind were got up against it, and it was finally disbanded.² In the Parliament, in the newspapers, in all public places, and, most of all, in the army, the Independents never mentioned the Scots without insult, sometimes expressing indignation at their rapacity, sometimes ridiculing their parsimony; appealing with coarse, but effectual artfulness, to national prejudices and popular suspicions, and neglecting no opportunity of awakening contempt or hatred for their enemies.³ At length, on the 11th of June, the Commons voted that there was no longer any need of the Scottish army, and that, after paying it a hundred thousand pounds, and obtaining an account of the whole sum due to it, it should be requested to return home.⁴

These intrigues did not produce the effect which was anticipated: the Scots manifested neither vexation nor anger; but their conduct was stolid and hesitating,

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 474—480; Ludlow's Memoirs p. 77.

² Whitelocke, pp. 209, 216, 222, 225.

³ Hollis's Memoirs, p. 45.

⁴ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 484.

which suited their enemies still better. The embarrassment of the leaders, who were inclined to serve the King, was extreme. With incurable duplicity, because he believed himself released from all moral obligations towards rebel subjects, Charles was meditating their ruin even while he implored their help. "I am not without hope," he wrote to Lord Digby, on the 26th of March, a few days before he left Oxford,—“I am not without hope that I shall be able so to draw either the Presbyterians or the Independents to side with me for extirpating one the other, that I shall be really King again.”¹ The Presbyterian body, on their side, both in Scotland and England, swayed by their ministers, were as zealous as ever for the Covenant and for the triumph of their church, and would hear of no accommodation or alliance with the King, except on those terms; so that the more moderate men, who looked anxiously towards the future, could neither repose confidence in the King, nor abate their pretensions in the slightest degree in their dealings with him. In this perplexity, assailed at once by the accusations of their adversaries and the requirements of their party, their speeches were always contradictory, and their actions neutralized each other; they were desirous of peace, promised the King that they would obtain it, and were constantly telling his friends of the horror they felt for the Independents; and yet their declarations of zeal for the Covenant, of firm attachment to the Parliament, and of inviolable union with their English

¹ Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. iii. p. 452.

brethren, had never been more frequent or emphatic,¹ and never had they displayed greater distrust and severity towards the King and his Cavaliers. Six of the most illustrious companions of Montrose, who had been taken in the battle of Philiphaugh, were condemned and executed; an act of rigour which could have been prompted only by revenge, and for which the civil war in England had as yet furnished no precedent.² Before leaving Oxford, Charles had written to the Marquis of Ormonde, that he was proceeding to the Scottish camp solely in reliance on their promise to support him and his just rights in case of need;³ and although their language had probably been less explicit than his own, it can scarcely be doubted that they had really given him reason to hope for their support. Ormonde published the King's letter on the 21st of May; the Scots lost no time in contradicting it, and declared it to be "a most damnable untruth."⁴ His person was guarded more strictly every day; all who had borne arms on his side were forbidden access to him, and his letters were almost invariably intercepted.⁵ Finally, to give signal proof of their fidelity to the cause of the Covenant, the Scottish leaders required the King to receive instruction in the true doctrine of Christ; and the most celebrated of their preachers, Henderson, proceeded to Newcastle, offi-

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 471, 473, 488; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xv. p. 8.

² Laing's History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 334.

³ Carte's Life of Ormonde, vol. iii. p. 455.

⁴ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 480—483.

⁵ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. pp. 407, 408; Whitelocke, pp. 206, 208.

cially to undertake the conversion of the captive monarch.¹

Charles maintained the controversy with great address and dignity, professing unalterable attachment to the Anglican Church, and arguing without acrimony against his adversary, who was himself temperate and respectful. During the course of the discussion, the King wrote to order those Royalist governors who still held out to surrender, and to request the Parliament to hasten the despatch of their propositions;² but at the same time, he sent instructions to Ormonde to continue his negotiations with the Irish, although he had officially ordered him to break them off;³ and, on the 20th of July, he wrote to Glamorgan, who was still the only person to whom he had confided his secret designs: "If you can raise a large sum of money by pawning my kingdoms for that purpose, I am content you should do it; and if I recover them, I will fully repay that money. And tell the nuncio that, if once I can come into his and your hands—since all the rest, as I see, despise me—I will do it."⁴

At length, on the 23rd of July, the propositions of the Parliament reached the King; the Earls of Pembroke and Suffolk, with four members of the House of Commons, were deputed to lay them before him.

¹ The controversy began on the 29th of May, and lasted until the 16th of July; all the notes which passed between the king and Henderson are printed in the folio edition of the 'Works of King Charles the Martyr,' pp. 155—187. (London, 1662.)

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 486, 487.

³ Ibid. vol. iii. col. 487; Lingard's History of England, vol. vi. p. 361.

⁴ Birch's Enquiry into Glamorgan's Transactions, p. 245.

Mr. Goodwin, one of the deputation, was about to read them, when the King interrupted him by asking whether they had power to treat. "No, Sire," was the answer. "Then," said Charles, "saving the honour of the business, an honest trumpeter might have done as much." Goodwin finished reading. "I am sure," said the King, "you cannot expect a present answer from me, in a matter of this consequence." Lord Pembroke told him they had but ten days allowed them to wait for his Majesty's answer. "Very well," replied Charles, "within that time you shall receive it."¹

Several days elapsed, but the Commissioners received no communication from the King. He was reading the propositions over and over again, in great despondency, for they were harsher and more humiliating than those which he had hitherto scornfully rejected. He was required to adopt the Covenant, completely to abolish the Episcopal Church, to intrust the command of the army, navy, and militia to the Parliament for twenty years, and to consent to the exception, by name, of seventy-one of his most faithful friends from any amnesty, and to the exclusion of his entire party—of all persons who had borne arms in his cause—from all public employments during the pleasure of Parliament.² Yet he was urged on every side to accept these hard conditions. M. de Bellièvre, the French ambassador, who arrived at Newcastle on the same day as the message from the two Houses,

Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 513 ; Whitelocke, p. 218.

² Ibid., vol. iii. cols. 499—512.

strongly advised him to do so, in the name of his Court.¹ Montreuil brought him letters from the Queen, who earnestly advocated compliance:² at the suggestion of Bellièvre, she even despatched from Paris a gentleman of her household, Sir William Davenant, with orders to tell the King that his resistance was disapproved by all his friends. "By what friends?" asked Charles, angrily. "Lord Jermyn, Sire." "Jermyn does not understand anything of the Church." "Lord Colepepper is of the same mind." "Colepepper has no religion; is the Chancellor of the Exchequer of this mind?" "We do not know, Sire; the Chancellor is not at Paris; he has deserted the Prince, and chosen to remain in Jersey, instead of accompanying the Prince to the Queen; so that her Majesty is much displeased with him." "My wife is mistaken," said the King; "the Chancellor is an honest man, who will never desert me, nor the Prince, nor the Church; I am sorry he is not with my son." Davenant urged the point with all the vivacity of a poet and the levity of a courtier, until the King grew angry, and ordered him to leave his presence.³ On the part of the Presbyterians, equally strong efforts were used; several towns in Scotland, Edinburgh among others, addressed friendly petitions to the King on the subject;⁴ and the City of London wished to do the same, but was prevented

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 512; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. pp. 409-411.

² Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 216.

³ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 412.

⁴ Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 214, 220.

by a formal order from the House of Commons.¹ Menace was at last added to entreaty: the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland demanded that, if the King refused the Covenant, he should not in any case be allowed to enter Scotland;² and in solemn audience, in presence of the Scottish Commissioners, the Chancellor, Lord Loudoun, declared to him that, if he persisted in his refusal, he would certainly be denied admission into Scotland; and that, in England, he would probably be deposed, and another Government instituted.³

But threats and prayers alike failed to overcome the King's pride, sustained by his religious scruples, and the secret hopes with which he was still inspired by credulous or intriguing friends.⁴ After having delayed his answer from day to day, he sent for the Commissioners on the 1st of August, and gave them a written message, in which, without absolutely rejecting the propositions, he again demanded to be received in London, in order that he might treat personally with the Parliament.⁵

The Independents were unable to restrain their delight. On the return of the Commissioners, the customary vote of thanks to them was proposed. "We owe more thanks to the King than anybody!" exclaimed one of the members. "What will become of us, since the King refuseth these propositions?" anxiously inquired a Presbyterian. "Nay, what had

¹ Old Parliamentary History, vol. xv. pp. 6—7; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 78.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 419.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 319.

⁴ Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 79.

⁵ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 513—516.

become of us, if he had granted them?" replied an Independent.¹ On the 10th of August, a message arrived from the Scottish Commissioners, offering to evacuate all the places they occupied, and to withdraw their army from England.² The Lords voted that their Scottish brethren had deserved well of the country: the Commons would not join in this vote, but, on the 14th of August, they passed an ordinance, forbidding all persons to speak evil of the Scots, or to print anything to their discredit.³ For a moment, both parties, one of which had been disheartened and the other delighted by the King's refusal, seemed desirous only to regulate their interests and debates in harmonious concert.

But the truces which prudence or spite may effect between antagonistic passions are necessarily short-lived. The offer of the Scots to withdraw gave rise to two questions: how the arrears which were due to them, and which they had long been claiming, were to be settled? and who was to have the disposal of the King's person? As soon as these questions were mooted, the struggle recommenced.

On the first point, the Presbyterians gained an easy victory: the demands of the Scots were, it is true, exorbitant; after deducting all that had been already paid them, they still demanded nearly seven hundred thousand pounds, exclusive of "the great

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, p. 283.

² *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 516.

³ *Old Parliamentary History*, vol. xv. pp. 61—63. This ordinance was carried in the Commons by a majority of a hundred and thirty votes only, against a hundred and two.

losses of the kingdom of Scotland, sustained through its engagement to England," the estimate of which they left "to the consideration of the honourable Houses."¹ The Independents protested, with bitter irony, against so costly a brotherhood, and, in their turn, prepared a detailed account of the sums levied and exactions practised by the Scots in the north; according to which statement, Scotland was more than four hundred thousand pounds in England's debt.² But such recriminations could not be admitted, or even seriously discussed, by sensible men; the withdrawal of the Scots was evidently necessary; the northern counties clamorously demanded relief: in order to induce them to retire, it was indispensable to pay them; for a war would have been far more costly, and would have involved the Parliament in much greater difficulty. The troublesome obstinacy of the Independents appeared to be nothing more than blind passion or party manoeuvre: the Presbyterians, on the other hand, promised to make the Scots lower their claims. All the wavering, or distrustful, or reserved men, who belonged to no particular party, and who, more than once, from disgust for Presbyterian despotism, had joined to give the Independents a majority, ranged themselves, on this occasion, on the side of their adversaries. Four hundred thousand pounds were voted³ as the utmost

¹ Old Parliamentary History, vol. xv. pp. 66—71.

² Ibid. vol. xv. pp. 71—75.

³ In four votes of 100,000*l.* each, voted on the 13th, 21st, and 27th of August, and the 1st of September. Old Parliamentary History, vol. xv. pp. 64, 65, 76.

concession the Scots might hope to obtain; half of which was to be paid on their departure, and half at the expiration of two years. They accepted the offer, and a loan, on mortgage of Church lands, was immediately negotiated in the City, to provide the means of payment.¹

But when the disposal of the King's person was brought in question, the position of the Presbyterians became very embarrassing. Even had they desired that he should remain in the hands of the Scots, they could not venture to suggest such an idea, for it was absolutely repugnant to the national pride. All agreed in maintaining that it was the privilege and honour of the English people alone to dispose of their sovereign; and what jurisdiction could the Scots claim to exercise on the soil of England? They were merely auxiliaries, paid auxiliaries, and, moreover, men who evidently cared only for their pay; let them take their money and return home; England neither needed nor feared them. The Scots, on their side, notwithstanding their desire to avoid a rupture, could not quietly endure such contemptuous treatment. Charles, they said, was their King as well as the King of the English; they had an equal right to watch over his person and destiny; and the Covenant made it their duty to do so. The quarrel became very animated; conferences, pamphlets, declarations, and mutual accusations, daily became more numerous and vehement; the people, without distinction of parties, daily expressed themselves more strongly

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 376; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 66.

against the pretensions of the Scots; national prejudices and antipathies rapidly revived; and the avariciousness, narrow-minded prudence, and theological pedantry of the Scots daily became more distasteful to their more liberal-minded and boldly-fanatical allies. The political leaders of the Presbyterian party, Hollis, Stapleton, and Glynn, weary of a struggle in which they felt they were subject to constraint and subordination, impatiently sought means to bring it to a conclusion. They persuaded themselves that, if the Scots surrendered the King into the hands of the Parliament, it would become easy to disband that fatal army, which was the sole support of the Independents, and the true enemy of both Parliament and King. They therefore advised the Scots to yield, as the best way to advance the interests of their cause; and at the same time, influenced, doubtless, by the same arguments, the Lords gave their consent to the vote which the Commons had passed five months previously—"That his Majesty shall be disposed of as both Houses of the Parliament of England shall think fit."¹

The Scottish Presbyterians, at least for the most part, were quite willing to believe in the wisdom of this advice, and to pursue it, as they were embarrassed by their own resistance, and could neither abandon nor continue it satisfactorily. But the King's friends among the party had recently acquired

¹ The Lords adopted this vote on the 24th of September, 1648.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 329—372; Hollis's *Memoirs*, pp. 92—94; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 420; Baillie's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 257; Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 369, 560.

a little more boldness and power. The Duke of Hamilton was at their head; he had been imprisoned for three years at St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, in consequence of the distrust with which his wavering conduct had inspired the Court at Oxford, and even the King himself; but when that fortress fell into the hands of the Parliamentarians, he had obtained his liberty, and had spent several days in London, paying the most assiduous visits to the influential members of both Houses; after which, he proceeded to Newcastle, where Charles had just arrived with the Scottish army, speedily regained his former favour, and, on his return to Edinburgh, made the sincerest efforts to insure the King's safety.¹ Around him immediately rallied nearly all the higher nobility of the kingdom, and the moderate Presbyterians of the burgher class; all the sensible men who were disgusted by the blind fanaticism of the multitude and the insolent domination of the ministers, and all the honest and timid men, who were ready to make any sacrifice for the sake of a little repose. They obtained the despatch of a new and solemn deputation, who waited on Charles, at Newcastle, and besought him on their knees to accept the propositions of the Parliament. The earnest entreaties of these suppliants, all of whom were his fellow-countrymen, and nearly all companions of his youth, shook the King's resolution: "Upon my word," he said to them, "all the dangers and inconveniences which you

¹ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. pp. 527, 528; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 327.

have laid before me, do not so much trouble me as that I should not give satisfaction to the desires of my native country, especially being so earnestly pressed upon me. I desire to be rightly understood; I am far from giving you a negative, nay, I protest against it; my only desire is to be heard, and that you will continue to press those at London to hear reason. If a King should refuse this to any of his subjects, he would be thought a tyrant." On the very next day, probably after fresh entreaties, he offered to reduce the establishment of the Episcopal Church to five dioceses—those of Oxford, Bath and Wells, Winchester, Bristol, and Exeter; and to allow the Presbyterian system to prevail throughout the rest of the kingdom, merely reserving liberty of conscience and worship for himself and his friends until, in concert with the Parliament, he had put an end to all their differences. But no partial concession could satisfy the Presbyterians; and the greater his willingness to yield, the more they doubted his sincerity. His proposal was scarcely listened to. Hamilton, in discouragement, talked of retiring to the Continent: a report was spread, at the same time, that the Scottish army was about to return home. The King wrote at once to the duke:—"Hamilton, I have so much to write, and so little time for it, that this letter will be suitable to the times, without method or reason. Those at London think to get me into their hands, by telling our countrymen that they do not intend to make me a prisoner. O, no, by no means! but only to give me an honourable guard forsooth, to

attend me continually, for the security of my person. Wherefore I must tell you (and 'tis so far from a secret that I desire every one should know it) that I will not be left in England when this army retires, unless clearly, and according to the old way of understanding, I may remain a free man, and that no attendant be forced upon me on any pretence whatsoever." He therefore entreated Hamilton not to leave the country, and ended his letter with these words: "Your most assured, real, faithful, constant friend."¹ Hamilton remained; the Scottish Parliament met in November, 1646, and its first sittings seemed to indicate feelings of strong and active goodwill towards the King. On the 16th of December, it declared that it would maintain monarchical government in the person and descendants of his Majesty, as well as his just rights to the crown of England; and that instructions should be sent to the Scottish Commissioners in London to make arrangements for the King to repair thither with honour, safety, and liberty. But on the next day, the Standing Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church addressed a public remonstrance to the Parliament, accusing it of listening to perfidious counsels, and complaining that it imperilled the union between the two kingdoms, the only hope of true believers, in order to serve a prince who obstinately rejected the Covenant of Christ.² Against such intervention,

¹ The letter is dated September 26, 1646.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 327—329.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 390; Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 364—368.

Hamilton and his friends were powerless. The docile Parliament retracted its previous vote, and all that the moderate men could obtain was, that new efforts should be made to induce the King to accept the propositions. Charles, in his turn, replied by another message, demanding to treat in person with the Parliament.¹

At the moment that he gave expression, for the fifth time, to this unavailing wish, the Houses were signing the treaty which regulated the withdrawal of the Scottish army and the method of its payment.² The loan opened in the City had been immediately taken up: on the 16th of December, the two hundred thousand pounds, which the Scots were to receive before their departure, were enclosed in two hundred boxes, sealed with the seal of both nations, packed on thirty-six waggons, and conveyed from London under an escort of infantry.³ Skippon, who commanded the detachment, issued a proclamation that any officer or soldier who should, either by word or deed, give any just occasion of offence to any officer or soldier of the Scottish army, should be immediately and severely punished.⁴ The convoy entered York on the 1st of January, 1647, amid the firing of cannon from the town to celebrate its arrival;⁵ and three weeks after, the Scots received their first payment at Northal-

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 393.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 532—536.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 389; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 533.

⁴ Whitelocke, p. 236.

⁵ Old Parliamentary History, vol. xv. p. 217; Drake's History of York, p. 171.

lerton. The King's name was not mentioned in the course of this negotiation; but, on the 31st of December, eight days after the treaty had been signed, the two Houses voted that he should be taken to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire;¹ and his person constituted so essential a part of the bargain, that the Commons debated the question whether Commissioners should be sent to Newcastle to receive him solemnly from the hands of the Scots, or whether they should merely require him to be given up, without ceremony, to Skippon, together with the keys of the town and the receipt for the money. The Independents insisted strongly on the latter plan, as they would have been delighted to humble the King and their rivals, both at the same time; but the Presbyterians succeeded in obtaining its rejection;² and on the 12th of January, nine Commissioners, three Lords and six Commoners,³ with a numerous retinue, set out from London for the purpose of respectfully taking possession of their sovereign's person.⁴

Charles was playing at chess when he first received information of the vote of Parliament, and of his own approaching removal to Holmby House; he quietly finished his game, and merely answered that, when the Commissioners arrived, he would acquaint them

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 538.

² On the 6th of January.—Old Parliamentary History, vol. xv. p. 264.

³ The Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, Lord Montague, Sir John Coke, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Holland, Sir James Harrington, Mr. Carew, and Major-General Brown.

⁴ Old Parliamentary History, vol. xv. p. 265; Herbert's Memoirs, p. 7.

with his pleasure.¹ Meanwhile, the anxiety of those about him visibly increased; his friends and servants sought help or refuge for him on every side—now meditating his escape, and now endeavouring to kindle a new insurrection in some part of the kingdom.² Even the populace began to show some compassion for his fate. A Scottish minister, who preached before him at Newcastle, gave out the fifty-second Psalm, beginning with these words:—

“Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself
Thy wicked works to praise?”

But the King rose up suddenly, and began to sing the fifty-sixth Psalm:—

“Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,
For men would me devour—”

and the whole congregation, with one voice, joined with him in the prayer.³ But popular compassion is slow to manifest itself, and long remains ineffectual.

The Commissioners arrived at Newcastle on the 23rd of January, and, on the 10th, the Scottish Parliament had officially consented to surrender the King.⁴ “I am bought and sold,” said Charles, when he heard this.⁵ Yet he received the Commissioners with apparent calmness, talked cheerfully with them, congratulated Lord Pembroke on having been able, at his age and in such inclement weather, to take so

¹ On the 15th of January.—Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, p. 307; *Old Parliamentary History*, vol. xv. p. 278.

² Whitelocke, p. 233; *Old Parliamentary History*, vol. xv. pp. 269, 307.

³ Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 230.

⁴ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 541.

⁵ Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 236.

long a journey without fatigue, inquired into the state of the roads, and seemed, in short, desirous to convince them that he was glad to be restored to the Parliament.¹ Before taking leave of him, the Scottish Commissioners, and particularly Lord Lauderdale, the most clear-sighted of them all, made a last effort to induce him to sign the Covenant: "If the King will adopt it," they said, "instead of giving him up to the English, we will take him to Berwick, and obtain reasonable conditions for him." They even offered a large sum to Montreuil, who still acted as their intermediary, if he could only obtain a promise from the King.² Charles persisted in his refusal, making no complaint of the conduct of the Scots towards him, but treating the Commissioners of both nations with equal courtesy, and evidently striving to avoid any manifestation of distrust or irritation.³ Tired at length of their useless delay, the Scots took their departure; on the 30th of January, Newcastle was given up to the English troops; and on the 9th of February, the King left the town, under the escort of a regiment of cavalry. They travelled slowly; eager crowds thronged to see him as he passed; persons afflicted with the King's evil were brought to him, and ranged round his carriage or near his door, that he might touch them. The Commissioners grew alarmed, and forbade these gatherings;⁴ but their

¹ Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 8.

² Letter from M. de Montreuil to M. de Brienne, February 2, 1647; in Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 87.

³ Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 87.

⁴ By a declaration published at Leeds, on the 9th of February, 1647. —*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 549.

efforts were unavailing, for no one was as yet accustomed to exercise or fear oppression, and even the soldiers did not venture to drive back the people too roughly.¹ When near Nottingham, Fairfax, whose head-quarters were in the town, went out to meet the King, dismounted as soon as he perceived him, kissed his hand, and then, remounting his horse, rode by his side through the streets, in respectful conversation. "The General is a man of honour," said the King, as he left him, "he has kept his word with me."² And on the 16th of February, on entering Holmby, where a number of gentlemen and other persons from the neighbourhood had assembled to celebrate his arrival, he openly expressed his satisfaction at the reception he had met with from his subjects.³

At Westminster, even the Presbyterians felt some disquietude at these expressions of public feeling; but their anxiety was soon banished by their joy at finding themselves, at length, masters of the King's person, and free to attack their enemies undisguisedly. Charles arrived at Holmby on the 16th of February; and on the 19th, the Commons voted that the army should be disbanded, with the exception only of a sufficient force to carry on the war in Ireland, to garrison important towns, and to maintain order throughout the kingdom.⁴ The dismissal of Fairfax

¹ Herbert's Memoirs, p. 11.

² Whitelocke, p. 238. It is unknown to what promise Charles alluded; perhaps to a promise of meeting and talking with him as Fairfax did.

³ Herbert's Memoirs, p. 11.

⁴ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 558. This motion was carried by a hundred and fifty-eight votes against a hundred and forty-eight.

from the command of the troops which were to be retained was almost carried;¹ but, though he was not removed, it was resolved that no member of the House should serve with him, that he should have no officer above the rank of colonel under his orders, and that his officers should all be required to conform to the Presbyterian Church, and to adopt the Covenant.² The Lords, on their side, to relieve, as they said, the counties near London which were most devoted to the popular cause, demanded that the army, until disbanded, should remove its quarters to a greater distance from the capital.³ A loan of two hundred thousand pounds was opened in the City, in order to pay the disbanded troops a portion of their arrears.⁴ And finally, a Special Committee, including Hollis, Stapleton, Glynn, Maynard, Waller, and nearly all the Presbyterian leaders, was appointed to superintend the execution of these measures, and, more particularly, to hasten the despatch of the succour for which the unfortunate Irish Protestants had so long been waiting.⁵

This attack was not unforeseen; for two months, the Independents had felt their influence decline in the House, as most of the newly-elected members, who had at first voted with them on account of their

¹ This motion was rejected by a majority of twelve votes only—a hundred and fifty-nine against a hundred and forty-seven.—*Old Parliamentary History*, vol. xv. p. 331; *Whitelocks*, p. 239.

² This motion was carried by a hundred and thirty-six votes against a hundred and eight.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 558.

³ On the 24th of March, 1647.—*Old Parliamentary History*, vol. xv. p. 335.

⁴ *Rushworth*, part iv. vol. i. p. 449; *Old Parliamentary History*, vol. xv. p. 348.

⁵ *Hollis's Memoirs*, p. 75; *Rushworth*, part iv. vol. i. p. 450.

dread of Presbyterian despotism, were now beginning to turn against them.¹ "It is a miserable thing," said Cromwell, one day, to Ludlow, "to serve a Parliament; to whom let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off; whereas, when one serves under a General, he may do as much service, and yet be free from all blame and envy. If thy father were alive, he would let some of them hear what they deserve."² Ludlow was a sincere republican, who had hitherto kept aloof from the intrigues of his party, though he fully shared in its passions; he did not understand Cromwell's meaning, and made no return to his advances; but others were more easily deceived and gained over. Cromwell already had many able accomplices and blind tools in the army: Ireton, who soon after became his son-in-law, who had been bred to the bar, but was now Commissary-General of the cavalry, a man of bold, obstinate, and subtle mind, capable of pursuing the most daring designs noiselessly and with deep craftiness, though under an appearance of frankness and rough honesty; Lambert, one of the most dashing officers in the army, a vain and ambitious man, who, like Ireton, had been educated for the bar, and had derived from his legal studies a fluent and insinuating eloquence, which he loved to display before his soldiers; Harrison, Hammond, Pride, Rich, and Rainsborough, all of them colonels of tried valour and popular reputation, and all personally attached to

¹ Hollis's Memoirs, p. 74.

² Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 79.

Cromwell—Harrison, because they had sought the Lord together in devotional meetings; Hammond, because he had obtained for him the hand of one of Hampden's daughters;¹ and the others, either because they acknowledged the ascendancy of his genius, or expected to rise with him, or simply obeyed him as soldiers. By their means, Cromwell, although, since the conclusion of the war, he had resumed his seat at Westminster, maintained all his influence in the army, and made his indefatigable activity felt even during his absence. As soon as the question of disbanding was mooted, his friends were loudest in their murmurs, to them, intelligence, hints, and advice, were constantly sent from London, which they immediately circulated throughout the army, privately exhorting the soldiers to insist on the payment of the whole of their arrears, to refuse to go to Ireland, and not to allow themselves to be separated from their comrades. In the meanwhile, Cromwell, in order to disarm suspicion, remained inactive in London, deplored the disaffection of the army from his place in the House, and was lavish in his protestations of devotedness to the Parliament.²

The first symptom of resistance was a petition, which arrived on the 25th of March, signed only by fourteen officers, and written in a respectful and conciliatory tone.³ They promised to proceed to Ireland as soon as ordered, and contented themselves with

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 489.

² Hollis's *Memoirs*, p. 84; *Old Parliamentary History*, vol. xv. p. 34; Sir John Berkley's *Memoirs*, p. 39.

³ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 560.

modestly suggesting that it would be advisable, first of all, to pay their arrears, and to furnish those guarantees which the troops had a right to expect. The House replied to them with thanks, but haughtily intimated that it became no one to give instructions to the Parliament.¹ No sooner had their answer reached the army, than a new petition was prepared, in much firmer and more definite language. It demanded that the arrears should be speedily liquidated; that no one should be forced to go to Ireland against his will; that disabled soldiers, and the widows and children of those who had fallen in action, should receive pensions; and that immediate supplies should be sent to prevent the troops from becoming a burden on their cantonments. The petition was drawn up in the name, not of a few individuals, but of the entire body of officers and soldiers, and addressed, not to the Houses of Parliament, but to Fairfax, the natural representative of the army, and guardian of its rights. It was read to all the regiments, and threats were used to those officers who declined to sign it.²

Upon the first intelligence of these proceedings, the Houses sent orders to Fairfax to prohibit them, declaring that all who should persist in such conduct would be considered enemies of the State and disturbers of the public tranquillity; and, further, requiring certain of the officers to come to London to give explanations.³

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 562.

² Ibid., cols. 562—567; Whitelocke, p. 240.

³ This declaration is dated on the 30th of March, 1647.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 567.

Fairfax promised obedience; Hammond, Pride, Lilburne, and Grimes, went to Westminster on the 1st of April, and positively denied the charges brought against them. "There was no petition read at the head of each regiment," said Pride. It had been read at the head of each company; but the House did not insist: it was enough, they said, that the scheme was abandoned and disowned.¹

The preparations for disbanding the army were now resumed; the loan opened in the City was taken up slowly, and proved insufficient; a general tax of sixty thousand pounds a month was established to supply the deficiency.² The formation of the army intended for Ireland was especially hastened; all who were willing to enlist were promised great advantages; Skippon and Massey were appointed to command it.³ Five Commissioners, all of them of the Presbyterian party, proceeded to head-quarters to announce these resolutions.

On the very day of their arrival, the 15th of April, 1647, two hundred officers met in Fairfax's house to confer with them. Lambert inquired who was to have the command in Ireland. "Major-General Skippon and Major-General Massey are named by both Houses," was the reply. "If we had assurance that Major-General Skippon would go," said Hammond, "I doubt not but a great part of the army would engage with him, such is the endeared respect

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 444; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 80.

² This ordinance, though proposed early in April, was not finally carried until the 23rd of June following.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 582. The tax was voted for a year.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 462; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 81.

and high esteem we all have of the worth and valour of that great soldier; but let us also have the General officers, of whom we have had so much experience." "Yes, yes!" cried the assembled officers; "Fairfax and Cromwell! and we all go." The Commissioners, quite disconcerted, left the room, requesting all who were willing to volunteer for Ireland to come to them at their lodgings; but only about twelve or fifteen responded to this appeal.¹

A few days after, on the 27th of April, a hundred and forty-one officers addressed a solemn justification of their conduct to the Parliament. "We hope," they said, "by being soldiers, we have not lost the capacity of subjects, nor divested ourselves thereby of our interests in the commonwealth—that in purchasing the freedoms of our brethren, we have not lost our own. For our liberty of petitioning, we hope the House will never deny it unto us; you have not denied it to your enemies, but justified and commended it in a special declaration. For the desire of our arrears, necessity, especially of our soldiers, enforced us thereunto; and we hoped that the desires of our hardly-earned wages would have been no unwelcome request, nor argued us guilty of the least discontent or intention of mutiny. But since the false suggestions of some men have informed you that the army intended to enslave the kingdom, we cannot but earnestly implore your justice in the vindication of us, as in your wisdom you shall think fit."²

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 457; Whitelocke, p. 240.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 568; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 469—472.

This letter had scarcely been read to the House, when Skippon rose, and presented another petition, which had been brought to him on the previous evening by three private soldiers. In it, eight regiments of horse positively refused to take service in Ireland, on the ground that "they saw designs were upon them, and many of the godly party in the kingdom," and that "there was an intention to disband and new model the army, which was a plot contrived by some who had lately tasted of sovereignty, and being lifted up above the ordinary sphere of servants, endeavoured to become masters, and were degenerated into tyrants." At this personal attack, the Presbyterian leaders, in equal surprise and irritation, required that all business should be suspended, in order that the three soldiers might be brought to the bar of the House and examined. They presented themselves, with resolute countenances and unembarrassed demeanour; their names were Edward Sexby, William Allen, and Thomas Sheppard. "Where was this letter got up?" inquired the Speaker. "At a rendezvous of several regiments." "Who wrote it?" "A council of agents for each regiment." "Are your officers engaged in it?" "Very few of them know of it." "Surely this letter came by promotion of Cavaliers in the army: were you ever Cavaliers?" "We have been engaged in the Parliament's service ever since Edgehill battle," said the troopers, and one of them added: "When I was upon the ground, with five dangerous wounds, Major-General Skippon came by, and, pitying my sad condition, gave me five shil-

lings to procure some relief; the General knows whether I lie or not." "It is true," said Skippon, looking with interest at the soldier. "But what is the meaning of this clause, wherein the word 'sovereignty' is expressed?" demanded the Speaker. "We cannot give a punctual answer, being only agents; but, if we may have the queries in writing, we will send or carry them to our regiments, and return our own and their answers."¹

A violent tumult now arose in the House; the Presbyterians were loud in their threats. Cromwell, leaning towards Ludlow, who was sitting next to him, said, "These men will never leave, till the army pull them out by the ears."²

Anger, however, soon gave way to uneasiness: the House had made an alarming discovery; it no longer had a few discontented soldiers to hold in check; the whole army had leagued together, was erecting itself into an independent and, possibly, rival power, and already possessed its own peculiar government. Two councils, composed, the one of officers, and the other of *agents* or *agitators* appointed by the soldiers, regulated all its proceedings, and were preparing to negotiate in its name. Every precaution had been taken for the maintenance of this growing organization; each squadron or company elected two agitators: whenever it became necessary for them to meet, every soldier contributed fourpence towards their expenses; and the two councils were pledged to act always in

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 474; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 89; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 81; Whitelocke, p. 245.

² Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 81.

common.¹ At the same time, a report was spread, and not altogether groundlessly, that propositions had been sent to the King by the army; and that it had offered to reinstate him in his just rights, if he would place himself at its head, and under its protection.² Even in the Parliament itself, on the appearance of this new power, and in dread of its strength rather than of its triumph, prudent men became timid; some of them left London; others, like Whitelocke, allied themselves with the Generals, and particularly with Cromwell, who eagerly welcomed their overtures.³ The House resolved to try what could be done by concession, and to conciliate the army by means of its own leaders. Instead of the six weeks' pay which had at first been voted, pay for two months was promised to the troops which were to be disbanded;⁴ an ordinance of general indemnity was prepared, to cover all the disorders and illegal acts that had been committed during the war;⁵ and a fund was set apart for the relief of the widows and children of soldiers.⁶ Finally, Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, and Fleetwood, the four Generals who were members of the House of Commons, and who possessed the confi-

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 485; Fairfax's Memoirs, p. 106; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 89.

² At the beginning of April, propositions of this nature had actually been made to the King by several officers; but Charles rejected them.—Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 365.

³ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 249.

⁴ On the 14th of May, 1647.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 484.

⁵ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 484, 489. This ordinance was finally adopted on the 21st of May.

⁶ Hollis's Memoirs, p. 91.

dence of the army, were directed to restore harmony between it and the Parliament.¹

A fortnight elapsed before their presence at headquarters appeared to have produced any beneficial effect. They wrote frequently to the Speaker, but their letters announced no progress: at one time, the council of officers had refused to give an answer without the concurrence of the agitators; at another, the agitators themselves had demanded time to consult the soldiers.² Even under the eyes of the Parliamentary Commissioners, this hostile government daily acquired greater consistency and strength: but Cromwell, nevertheless, continued to write that he was exhausting his energies in vain efforts to appease the army, that his own popularity had suffered greatly in consequence, and that he would soon incur the suspicion and hatred of the soldiers.³ Some of the Commissioners at length returned to London, bringing with them the same proposals and refusals which had previously been made on the part of the army.⁴

The Presbyterian leaders expected this; and, taking advantage of the feeling in the House, which was irritated at finding all its hopes disappointed, they obtained in a few hours the adoption of more decided resolutions. On the motion of Hollis, it was voted that those troops which would not engage for Ireland

¹ They went down to head-quarters at Saffron Walden, in Essex, on the 7th of May, 1647.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 480, 485, 487; Huntington's Memoirs, p. 12.

³ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 435.

⁴ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 491.

should be immediately disbanded; and the time, place, and means, indeed, all the details of this measure, were arranged. The various corps were to be dissolved suddenly and separately, each in its own quarters, almost at the same moment, or at very short intervals, that they might neither concert a plan of resistance or assemble together. The money necessary for carrying out this operation was forwarded to different points; and Commissioners, all of them Presbyterians, were sent to superintend its execution.¹

They found the army in a state of the most violent confusion. Aware of the blow which threatened them, most of the regiments had mutinied; some, after expelling the officers whom they distrusted, had put themselves in motion, with flying colours, to join their comrades; others had entrenched themselves in churches, declaring that they would not separate; some had seized upon the money intended for the payment of the disbanded troops; and all loudly demanded a general rendezvous, at which the whole army might make known its desires. A letter was immediately despatched to Fairfax, in the name of the soldiers, declaring that if their officers refused to lead them, they would combine together to defend their rights without them. Fairfax, in great grief and disquietude, exhorted the officers, appealed to the soldiers, and wrote to the Parliament; but, though sincere, he was powerless with all parties, and equally inca-

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 582; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 493, 494, 496; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 91. These resolutions were adopted by the House of Lords, on the 22nd of May, 1647.

pable of renouncing popularity or exercising authority. On the 29th of May, he convoked a council of war, at which all the officers, with the exception of six, voted that the resolutions of the two Houses were not satisfactory; that the army could not separate without obtaining better guarantees; that its quarters should, in the meanwhile, be brought closer together; that a general rendezvous should be appointed to calm the fears of the soldiers; and that an humble representation from the council should inform the Parliament of what they intended to do.¹

Further illusion was impossible. After its authority had been thus set at defiance, the Parliament could no longer rely on its own resources: to meet such enemies, it needed other strength than the power of its name, and other support than the majesty of the law. This could be furnished only by the King on one hand, and on the other by the City, which still continued Presbyterian, and seemed likely soon to become Royalist. Some measures had already been taken with a view to this contingency. With the consent of the Common Council, the command of the militia had been taken from the Independent party, and intrusted to an exclusively Presbyterian committee;² a more numerous guard was stationed at the doors of the two Houses; and an additional sum of twelve thousand pounds had been voted for its maintenance,³ while numbers of Reformado officers, faithful survivors of

¹ Rushworth, part v. vol. i. pp. 496—500; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 584—588; Hollis's *Memoirs*, pp. 92, 93.

² By an ordinance of the 4th of May, 1647. Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 472, 478.

³ *Ibid.* part iv. vol. i. p. 496.

Essex's army, were allowed to reside unmolested in the City. To the great grief of his party, Essex himself was no longer living; he had died suddenly on the 14th of September in the preceding year, on his return from a hunting-party, just at the time when he was said to be preparing to make a decided effort in favour of peace; and his loss had seemed so fatal a blow to the Presbyterians, that reports were current of his having been poisoned by their enemies.¹ But Waller, Poyntz, and Massey were still full of zeal, and ready to declare themselves. As for the King, the Parliament had reason to fear that he was less favourably disposed towards it: twice,² with the stern rigour of theological animosity, they had refused to permit his chaplains to visit him; and two Presbyterian ministers, Marshall and Caryll, solemnly conducted divine worship at Holmby, though Charles invariably refused to attend their ministrations.³ His most faithful servants had also been removed from attendance on his person;⁴ all attempts at correspondence with his wife, children, or friends, were severely prohibited;⁵ and it was with great difficulty that even Lord Dunfermline, one of the Commissioners of the Scottish Parliament, had obtained permission to visit him.⁶ Finally, he had recently addressed to the Parliament a detailed answer to the propositions he had received

¹ Old Parliamentary History, vol. xv. p. 97; Whitelocke, p. 228; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 429.

² On the 19th of February and 8th of March, 1647.

³ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 557—559; Herbert's Memoirs, p. 11.

⁴ Herbert's Memoirs, pp. 13—16.

⁵ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 453, 482; Herbert's Memoirs, p. 12.

⁶ On the 13th of May; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 483.

at Newcastle, and more than a fortnight had elapsed before any disposition was shown to take it into consideration.¹ After all this vexatious rigour, a reconciliation seemed difficult. Meanwhile, the necessity was pressing: if the King had cause to complain of the Presbyterians, he knew at least that they did not desire his ruin. Even at Holmby, notwithstanding the strict surveillance to which he was subjected, he received all the honours usually paid to royalty; his household was maintained with splendour, and Court etiquette was rigidly observed. By the Presbyterian Commissioners who resided with him, he was treated with the utmost deference and respect. They accordingly lived on very good terms together: sometimes the King would invite them to accompany him in his walks, and sometimes he would play with them at chess or bowls; always treating them with attention and politeness, and seeking their society.² Certainly, thought the Presbyterians, he could not fail to perceive that the enemies of the Parliament were his enemies also, nor could he refuse the only chance of safety which was offered him. On the 20th of May, the Lords voted that his Majesty should be invited to take up his residence nearer London, at Oatlands House;³ the Commons, without positively joining in the vote, intimated a similar wish; the correspondence with the Commissioners in charge of the King, and particularly with Colonel Greaves, the commander of the garrison, became active and mysterious; and

¹ On the 12th of May; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 577—581.

² *Herbert's Memoirs*, p. 12.

³ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 581.

men had already begun to talk, in Westminster and the City, of their hope that the King would soon be reconciled to his Parliament, when, on the 4th of June, news suddenly arrived that, on the previous evening, he had been carried off from Holmby by a detachment of seven hundred men, and that the army now had him in its power.

In fact, on the 2nd of June, as the King was playing at bowls, after dinner, on Althorpe Down, two miles from Holmby, the Commissioners who accompanied him remarked with surprise, among the bystanders, a stranger in the uniform of Fairfax's regiment of Guards. Colonel Greaves asked him who he was, whence he came, and what news he brought from the army; the man replied with somewhat haughty bluntness, as though conscious of his own importance, but not a braggart. Soon afterwards a report spread among the King's attendants that a numerous party of horse was drawing near Holmby. "Did you not hear of them?" asked Greaves of the stranger. "I did more than hear of them," he replied, "for I saw them yesterday within thirty miles of Holmby." This created great alarm; all returned at once to Holmby; arrangements were made for resisting any attack; and the garrison promised to remain faithful to the Parliament. Towards midnight a body of cavalry arrived under the walls of the place, and demanded admission. "Who is your commander?" inquired the Commissioners. "We all command," was the answer. One of them, however, came forward, the same person who had been seen

some hours before on Althorpe Down. "My name is Joyce," he said; "I am a cornet in the General's Life Guard, and my business is to speak to the King." "From whom?" asked the Commissioners. "From myself," he replied. The Commissioners laughed. "It's no laughing matter," said Joyce; "I came not hither to be advised by you, nor have I any business with the Commissioners; my errand is to the King, and speak with him I must and will, presently." Greaves and Major-General Brown, one of the Commissioners, ordered the garrison to hold themselves in readiness to fire; but the soldiers had been talking with the new comers; the portcullis was lowered, the gates were opened, and Joyce's troopers were already in the court-yard, dismounting from their horses, shaking hands with their comrades, and stating that they had come, by order of the army, to take the King to a place of safety, as there was a plot to carry him off, conduct him to London, raise fresh troops, and kindle a second civil war; and Colonel Greaves, the commander of the garrison, had, they said, promised to execute that treacherous deed. On hearing this, the soldiers shouted that they would stand by the army; Greaves disappeared, and fled in all haste. After parleying for some hours, the Commissioners saw that they must abandon all hope of resistance. It was now noon. Joyce took possession of the house, posted sentinels in every direction, and retired till evening, in order to give his men some repose.

At ten o'clock he returned, and demanded to be

taken at once to the King. He was told that the King was in bed. "No matter," he said; "I have waited long enough; I must see him;" and, with a cocked pistol in his hand, he proceeded towards the apartments which Charles occupied. "I am sorry," he said to the gentlemen in attendance, "I should disquiet the King, but I cannot help it, for speak with him I will, and that presently." He was asked whether he had obtained permission from the Commissioners to speak with his Majesty. "No," he replied; "I have ordered a guard to be set at their chamber doors, and I have my orders from those that fear them not." They urged him to lay aside his arms; but he absolutely refused to do so. They hesitated to admit him, and he became angry. The King, awakened by the noise of the dispute, rang his bell, and gave orders that he should be admitted at once. Joyce entered, hat in hand, but still carrying his pistol, and with a determined, though not insolent air. The King sent for the Commissioners, and had a long conference with him in their presence; after which he dismissed him, saying, "I will willingly go with you, if the soldiery will confirm what you have promised me."

The next morning, at six o'clock, Joyce's troopers were drawn up on horseback in the court-yard. The King made his appearance in the doorway, attended by the Commissioners and his servants. Joyce advanced to the foot of the steps. "Mr. Joyce," said the King, "I desire to know what commission you have to secure my person?" "I am sent by authority

of the army," said the cornet, "to prevent the designs of our enemies, which, if not prevented, might have caused another war, and involved the whole kingdom in blood again." "I know no lawful authority in England," returned the King, "but my own, and next under me, the Parliament. Have you nothing in writing from Sir Thomas Fairfax, your General?" "I have authority from the army," said Joyce, "and Sir Thomas Fairfax is a member of the army." "I am not answered," replied Charles; "Sir Thomas Fairfax, being your General, is not properly a member, but the head of the army." "At all events, he is included in the army," said the cornet; "but I pray your Majesty not to ask me such questions, for I conceive I have sufficiently answered you already." "I pray, Mr. Joyce," said the King, "deal ingenuously with me, and tell me what commission you have." "Here is my commission." "Where?" "Behind me," he said, pointing to his soldiers. The King smiled, and answered, "It is as fair a commission, and as well written, as any I have seen in my life. Your instructions are in fair characters, legible without spelling; a company of proper men, well mounted and armed. But what if I should yet refuse to go with you? I hope that I may be used with honour and respect, and that you would not force me to do anything contrary to my conscience or my honour?" The soldiers shouted that they would not; and Joyce added, "Our principles are not to force any man's conscience, much less your Majesty's." "Now, gentlemen," said the King, "for the place you intend to

have me to?" "If it please your Majesty, to Oxford." "That is no good air." "Then, to Cambridge." The King said he would prefer Newmarket, as "it was an air that did very well agree with him." Joyce consented, and the King was about to withdraw, when the Commissioners stepped forward. "Gentlemen," said Lord Montague to the soldiers, "we are here in trust from both Houses, and desire to know whether all the party do agree to what Mr. Joyce hath said?" "All! all!" shouted the troopers. "All that are willing," said Major-General Brown, "that the King should stay with us, the Commissioners of Parliament, let them speak." "None! none!" was the reply. After this proof of their utter powerlessness, the Commissioners gave way; three of them got into the carriage with the King, the others mounted on horseback, and Joyce gave orders to march.¹

A messenger set out at the same moment for London, bearing a letter from Joyce to Cromwell, announcing the complete success of their enterprise. If he did not find Cromwell in London, the letter was to be delivered to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and in his absence, to Colonel Fleetwood. Fleetwood was the person who received it;² Cromwell was at head-quarters, with Fairfax, who was filled with consternation when he heard of what had happened. "I do not like it," he said to Ireton. "Who gave those orders?" "I

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 502, 513—517; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 588—601; Herbert's *Memoirs*, pp. 17—19; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 82; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 437.

² Hollis's *Memoirs*, p. 97; Whitelocke, p. 250; Huntington's *Reasons for laying down his Commission*, p. 4.

gave orders only for securing the King," answered Ireton, "and not for taking him away from Holmby." "If it had not been done," said Cromwell, who had just arrived from London, "the King would have been fetched away by order of Parliament."¹ Fairfax at once sent Colonel Whalley with two regiments of horse, to meet the King and take him back to Holmby. Charles refused to return thither, protesting against the violence to which he had been subjected, but really very glad to change his place of confinement, and to notice the prevalence of discord among his enemies. Two days later, on the 7th of June, at Childersley, near Cambridge, Fairfax himself, with Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, Hammond, Lambert, Rich, and all his staff, came to meet him. Most of them, following the example of Fairfax, kissed his hand respectfully; Cromwell and Ireton alone stood aloof.² Fairfax protested to the King that he had had nothing to do with his removal. "I'll not believe it," said Charles, "unless you hang Joyce." Joyce was summoned. "I told his Majesty," he said, "that I had not the General's commission. I had the commission of the whole army. Let it be drawn to a rendezvous, and if three or four parts of it do not approve what I have said, I will be content to be hanged at the head of my regiment." Fairfax said something about having him tried by court-martial, but did nothing of the kind. "Sir," said the King to him as he left him, "I have as good interest in the army as you;" and he

¹ Huntington's *Reasons*, pp. 4, 5.

² Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 445.

repeated his request to be taken to Newmarket. Colonel Whalley was sent thither with him, to guard him against any further surprise ; Fairfax returned to head-quarters, and Cromwell to Westminster, where his four days' absence had occasioned great astonishment.¹

He found both Houses a prey to the most sudden alternations of rage and fear, firmness and cowardice. At the first news of the King's capture, the alarm had been general ; Skippon, whom the Presbyterians still persisted in regarding as one of their own party, proposed, in a lachrymose tone, that a solemn fast should be ordained, to implore the Lord to re-establish harmony between the Parliament and the army ; and in the meanwhile it was voted, on the one hand, that a large instalment of arrears should be paid forthwith ; and, on the other, that the declaration in which the first petition from the officers had been termed seditious, should be rescinded, and expunged from the journals.² Further information, by awakening anger, restored some degree of courage to the Parliament : a detailed account of the proceedings at Holmby was received from the Commissioners ; it became known that Joyce had written at once to Cromwell ; and many even thought they knew exactly on what day, at head-quarters, in a conference between several officers and the principal agitators, and at the instigation of Cromwell, this audacious coup-de-main had been

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 545, 549 ; Herbert's Memoirs, p. 25 ; Warwick's Memoirs, p. 299 ; Fairfax's Memoirs, p. 116.

² On the 5th of June, 1647.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 592, 597 ; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 105.

suggested and planned.¹ When the Lieutenant-general reappeared in the House, these suspicions were expressed ; but he vehemently repelled them, calling God, angels, and men to witness that, until that day, Joyce had been as unknown to him as the light of the sun is to the child in its mother's womb.² But Hollis, Glynn, and Grimstone, firmly convinced of his guilt, sought for proofs in every quarter, and were resolved to avail themselves of the slightest ground for demanding his arrest. One morning, a short time before the House met, two officers came to Grimstone, and informed him that, at a recent meeting of officers, the question had been discussed, whether it would not be well to purge the army, so as to leave in it none but men in whom full confidence could be placed ; and that the Lieutenant-general had said, "I am sure of the army ; but there is another body that has more need of purging, namely, the House of Commons, and I think the army alone can do that." Grimstone asked them whether they would repeat this statement to the House. They expressed their readiness to do so, and accompanied him to Westminster. The House was sitting, and a debate in progress. As soon as he entered, Grimstone moved the adjournment of the debate, saying that "he had a matter of privilege of the highest sort to lay before the House," involving its very existence and liberties ; and he then accused Cromwell, who was present, with a design to employ the army to coerce the Parliament. "My witnesses

¹ On the 30th of May, according to Hollis's *Memoirs*, p. 96.

² Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 97, note.

are at the door," he said. "I demand that they be admitted." The two officers were brought in, and repeated their statement. As soon as they had withdrawn, Cromwell fell on his knees, burst into tears, and, with a vehemence of words, sobs, and gestures, that filled all beholders with surprise or emotion, he poured forth a flood of pious entreaties and fervent prayers, imprecating on himself all the curses of God if any man in the kingdom were more faithful than he was to the Parliament. Then, rising from his knees, he spoke for more than two hours, of the Parliament, the King, the army, his enemies, his friends, and himself; mingling all these topics together without the slightest attempt at arrangement; assuming by turns a haughty and a humble tone; sometimes verbose and sometimes vehement, but making it his chief endeavour to persuade the House that there was no reason for alarm, no cause for anxiety, and that, "except a few that seemed inclined to return back to Egypt," all the officers and soldiers were devoted to its service, and might easily be retained in its allegiance. In short, his success was so great, that when he resumed his seat, he had secured such an ascendancy for his friends, that, "if they had pleased," said Grimstone, thirty years afterwards, "the House would have committed me and my witnesses to the Tower as calumniators."¹

But Cromwell was too sensible to care for revenge, and too clear-sighted to deceive himself as to the real value of his victory. He perceived at once that such scenes could not be repeated; and on the evening of

¹ Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

this great triumph, he secretly left London, and joined the assembled army at Triploe Heath, near Cambridge;¹ and laying aside the disguise, which he now felt it impossible even for his hypocrisy to maintain any longer, in his conduct towards the Presbyterians and the House, he openly placed himself at the head of the Independents and the soldiers.

A few days after his arrival, the army was on its march towards London: a solemn engagement to maintain their cause to the last, had been subscribed by all the regiments. On the 14th of June, under the title of *An Humble Representation*, they had sent to both Houses, not a mere enumeration of their own grievances, but an imperious statement of their views on public affairs, the constitution of Parliament, the election of its members, the right of petition, and the general reform of the State.² Finally, to these unprecedented demands, they added articles of impeachment against eleven members of the House of Commons,³ who they said, were enemies of the army, and the sole authors of the fatal errors into which the Parliament had fallen respecting it.

The Presbyterians had expected this blow, and endeavoured to provide themselves with means of defence against it. For a fortnight, they had used every effort to curry favour with the city of London; complaints

¹ On the 10th of June.—Hollis's Memoirs, p. 99.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 564.

³ The eleven members were—Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Serjeant Glynn, Anthony Nichols, Major-General Massey, and Colonels Harley and Walter Long.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 570.

had been made of the taxes on salt and meat—they were abolished;¹ the apprentices had protested against the suppression of religious holidays, and particularly of Christmas, which had formerly been a day of enjoyment all over England,—days of public recreation were instituted in their stead.² A general outcry continued to be made against the rapacity of many members, who had accumulated to their own advantage, employments, indemnities, and profits on sequestrations; the Commons voted that no member of their House should, in future, receive any lucrative office, or gift, or assignment of the lands of delinquents; but that they should even restore to the public treasury the sums which they had already received, and that their estates should be subjected to the common law with respect to the payment of their debts.³ Finally, the committee which had been appointed to receive the complaints of private individuals against members of the House, had fallen into desuetude; it was restored to vigorous operation.⁴

But that time had now arrived when concessions only serve to prove distress, and parties acknowledge their faults only to expiate them. The citizens detested, but feared, the Independents; while, notwithstanding their attachment to the Presbyterian leaders, they regarded them with neither respect nor confidence,

¹ On the 11th and 25th of June.—*White Locke*, p. 252; *Rushworth*, part iv. vol. i. p. 592.

² On the 8th of June.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 594; *White Locke*, p. 239, 251; *Rushworth*, part iv. vol. i. pp. 460, 548.

³ On the 10th of June.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 603; *White Locke*, p. 252.

⁴ On the 3rd of June.—*Rushworth*, part iv. vol. i. p. 500.

as unpopular and vanquished patrons. For a short time, these measures appeared to produce some effect; the Common Council declared its firm intention to stand by the Parliament;¹ some squadrons of cavalry were formed among the citizens; the militia was recruited; and crowds of Reformado officers sent offers of service to Massey, Waller, and Hollis. Preparations of defence were made round London;² on the 11th of June, the Houses voted that the army should be called upon to retire, and to surrender the King to their Commissioners, and that his Majesty should be invited to take up his residence at Richmond, under the protection of the Parliament alone.³ But the army still continued to advance. Fairfax wrote in its name to the Common Council, to complain that recruits were being raised by its permission.⁴ The Council sent an unmeaning apology, alleging fear as an excuse for its conduct, and protesting that if the army would retire, or consent to remain quartered at a distance of forty miles from London, all dissensions would quickly cease.⁵ Fairfax replied that this answer had come too late, that his head-quarters were already established at St. Alban's, and that a month's pay was absolutely indispensable.⁶ The Parliament granted the pay, and in-

¹ On the 10th of June.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 601; Whitelocke, p. 251.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 552; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 614.

³ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 614.

⁴ On the 11th and 14th of June.—Ibid. vol. iii. cols. 608, 628.

⁵ On the 12th and 16th of June.—Ibid. vol. iii. col. 630; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 557.

⁶ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 560; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 613.

sisted on a retrograde movement.¹ The army demanded that, first of all, the eleven members who were hostile to its interests, should be expelled from Parliament.² The Commons could not consent to deal themselves so fatal a blow with their own hands: the matter had already been discussed on several occasions; and a majority had always replied that a vague accusation, with no facts to support the charge, and no proofs to establish the facts, could not be allowed to deprive members of Parliament of their rights.³ In answer, the army stated that the original accusation against Lord Strafford had been equally vague and general; and that, as the House had done in that case, it would be ready to furnish proofs as the trial advanced.⁴ And it continued its march. On the 26th of June, its headquarters were at Uxbridge. The City sent commissioners to it, but in vain. The alarm increased every day; the shops were shut; and the eleven members were severely censured for an obstinacy fraught with so much danger to both Parliament and City. They at once understood this language, and voluntarily offered to resign their seats.⁵ This patriotic offer was accepted with eager gratitude; and on the very day of their retirement, the Commons voted that the army had their full approval in all it had done, and that

¹ On the 15th and 21st of June.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 631, 639.

² On the 23rd of June.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 640—650.

³ Hollis's Memoirs, p. 119; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 653.

⁴ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 594.

⁵ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 654; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 124; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 38.

they would provide for its support; that commissioners should be appointed to regulate the affairs of the kingdom, in concert with delegates from the army; that, in the meanwhile, the King should be requested not to come to Richmond, as he had lately been desired to do; and that, in no case, should he reside nearer London than the head-quarters.¹ On these conditions, Fairfax fell back a few miles, and appointed ten commissioners to treat with those of the Parliament.²

At the time when the King was informed of these resolutions, he was preparing to set out for Richmond, in accordance with the wish of the Parliament, or, at least, to endeavour to do so; for, ever since the expression of that wish, he had been subjected to the strictest surveillance, and as he was dragged from town to town in the train of the army, he found his lodgings surrounded by numerous guards as soon as he arrived at any halting-place. He loudly expressed his displeasure at this treatment. "If any man should hinder my going," he said, "now my two Houses have desired me, it shall be done by force, by laying hold of my bridle; which, if any one were so bold as to do, I would endeavour to make it his last act."³ When he learned that the Houses themselves were opposed to his departure, that they had yielded all the army demanded, and were negotiating with it

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 656.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 596; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 661. The commissioners of the army were—Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, Rainsborough, Sir Hardress Waller, Harrison, Rich, Hammond, Lambert, and Desborough.

³ Huntington's Reasons for laying down his Commission, p. 5.

as with a conqueror, he smiled disdainfully at this humiliation of his first adversaries, and hastened to give another direction to his intrigues. With the exception of the measures which had been taken to prevent any attempt at escape, he had no cause to complain of the army; the officers were quite as respectful, and far more yielding in their behaviour towards him, than the Parliamentary Commissioners had been. Two of his chaplains, Drs. Sheldon and Hammond, had been permitted to reside with him, and to conduct Divine worship according to the Anglican ritual, without molestation. His old servants, and even Cavaliers who had recently borne arms in his cause, were no longer indiscriminately banished from his presence; the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, and the Marquis of Hertford, obtained leave to visit him; for the leaders of the army took delight in thus exhibiting their generosity and power to eminent Royalist noblemen; and even in the lower ranks, the military spirit shrank from those subtle precautions and annoying severities from which the King had so frequently suffered at Newcastle and Holmby.¹ Since the surrender of Oxford, his youngest children, the Duke of York, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester, had resided either at St. James's Palace or Sion House, near London, under the care of the Earl of Northumberland, to whose keeping the Parliament had intrusted them. Charles expressed a strong desire to

¹ Herbert's Memoirs, p. 14; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 442.

see them, and Fairfax at once urged his request in an official letter to both Houses: "Who," he said, "if they can imagine it to be their own case, cannot but be sorry if his Majesty's natural affection to his children, in so small a thing, should not be complied with?"¹ The interview took place at Maidenhead, on the 15th of July, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, who strewed evergreens and flowers along the roads by which the royal family were to pass; and, far from feeling any anger or suspicion, the officers and soldiers, moved, like the populace, by a father's joy at the sight of his children, made no objection to his taking them to Caversham, where he then resided, and keeping them with him for two days.² Some of them, however, and particularly Cromwell and Ireton, who were too clear-sighted to imagine that their struggle with the Presbyterians was at an end, and their victory secure, were filled with anxiety for the future, and, on carefully calculating all the chances, put it to one another whether the favour of the King, restored by their means to his throne, would not be the best guarantee for their party, and the surest means of fortune and power for themselves.³

Rumours of this state of feeling, of the courtesy with which the King was treated by the army, and of the steps which some of its leaders were taking towards a reconciliation with him, soon spread

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 679.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 625; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 471.

³ Huntington's Reasons for laying down his Commission, p. 7.

through the country. Many even went so far as to mention the conditions which had been offered to the King, and pamphlets were circulated, some in praise, and others in censure, of the Independent party. Its leaders thought it necessary officially to contradict these reports, and, in angry tones, to demand the punishment of their authors.¹ But their negotiations with the King were, nevertheless, continued; many officers were assiduous and respectful in their attentions to him; familiar, and almost friendly relations sprang up between them and the Cavaliers, as between men who had fought honourably, and were now desirous only to live in peace. The King himself wrote to the Queen on this subject with considerable confidence. Ere long, among the few exiles who had accompanied her to Paris, or who had taken refuge in Normandy, at Rouen, Caen, or Dieppe, these new hopes became the topic of general conversation. Two men, more especially, endeavoured to foster them, making it appear that they knew more about the matter than they chose to explain, and that no one could render the King such important services, at this juncture, than themselves. One of these, Sir John Berkley, had distinguished himself by his valiant defence of Exeter, and had not surrendered the town until three weeks before the King's flight to the Scottish camp; the other, John Ashburnham, had left Charles only at Newcastle, and then from sheer necessity, in order to escape from the clutches of the Parliament: both of them were vain, intriguing, and

¹ Old Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. pp. 60—62.

talkative, but Berkley had most courage, and Ashburnham more craftiness and greater influence with the King. Both of them—Berkley, by chance, and Ashburnham, by order of Charles himself—had had enough intercourse with some of the principal officers of the army to believe themselves entitled to boast of it, and able to turn it to advantage. The Queen unhesitatingly believed all their assurances; and, by her command, about the beginning of July, they both set out, at an interval of a few days, to offer their services as negociators between the King and the army.¹

Berkley had no sooner landed than a Cavalier of his acquaintance, Sir Allen Apsley,² came to meet him, with a message from Cromwell, Lambert, and some other officers, to assure him that they had not forgotten their conversations with him after the taking of Exeter, nor his excellent advice, and that they were quite ready to profit by it; they, therefore, begged him to come to them with all speed. On receiving this message, proud to find himself of more importance than even his own vanity had led him to imagine, Berkley, without making any stay in London, hastened to head-quarters, which were then at Reading. Before he had been there three hours, Cromwell had sent to apologize for not being able to pay him an immediate visit; and at ten o'clock on the same evening, he called upon Berkley, with Colonel Rainsborough and Sir Hardress Waller. All

¹ Berkley's Memoirs, pp. 12—16; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 447.

² The brother of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson.

three made protestations of their good intentions towards the King; Rainsborough somewhat drily, but Cromwell with great earnestness. "I have lately seen," he said, "the tenderest sight that ever my eyes beheld, the interview between the King and his children. Never was man so abused as I was in my sinister opinions of the King, who, I think, is the uprightest and most conscientious man in his three kingdoms. We of the Independent party have infinite obligations to him for not consenting to the Scots' propositions at Newcastle, which would have totally ruined us. I wish that God would be pleased to look upon me according to the sincerity of my heart towards his Majesty!" Moreover, he stated, all the officers were convinced that, if the King were not restored to possession of his just rights, no one in England would be able securely to enjoy his life or property; and a decisive step on their part would, ere long, leave his Majesty in no doubt with regard to their true sentiments. Berkley was delighted. On the following day, he obtained an audience of the King, and gave him an account of this interview. Charles listened coldly, as a man who had already frequently received such overtures, and either put no faith in them, or desired, by his reserve, to obtain a higher price for his belief. Berkley withdrew in confusion, but thought, not without some feeling of resentment, that the King, who knew him little, might perhaps have some prejudice against him, and that Ashburnham, who was expected speedily to arrive, would be more successful in persuading him. In the

meanwhile, he continued his negotiations with the army; the officers came to him in crowds, and so did the mere agitators—some of them were friends and instruments of Cromwell, but others distrusted him, and warned Berkley to be on his guard; “For,” they said, “he is one who will always make his advantages, and he is resolved to prosecute his ambitious ends through all means whatsoever; for he not only dissembles, but really changes his way to those ends, so as he may be always the leader.” Ireton, however, Cromwell’s most intimate confidant, appeared to Berkley to deal honestly with him; for he communicated to him the propositions which the general council of officers had in preparation, and even adopted some alterations which he suggested in them. Nothing so moderate had previously been offered to the King; they demanded that he should resign the command of the militia and the right of appointing to great offices of State for ten years; that seven of his principal counsellors should remain banished from the kingdom; that all civil and coercive power should be withdrawn from the clergy, whether bishops or Presbyterian ministers; that no peer created since the commencement of the civil war should be allowed to take his seat; and that no Cavalier should be elected a member of the next Parliament. “As we have prevailed in the war,” said Ireton to Berkley, “we must make some distinction between ourselves and the worsted.” Moreover, these conditions, less rigorous in themselves than those proposed by the two Houses, were not accompanied by any obligation to abolish

the Episcopal Church, or to ruin nearly all the Royalists by enormous fines, nor did they establish the legal incapacity, as it were, of the King and his party, during the pleasure of Parliament. The army, it is true, demanded, on the other hand, new reforms which, in reality, were of a more serious character; such as a more equal distribution of electoral rights and public taxes; a great change in civil procedure; the destruction of a host of political, judicial, and commercial privileges; and, in short, the introduction, into social order and the laws, of many principles of equality until then unknown. But, even in the idea of their authors, these demands were not directed against the King, or intended to diminish his dignity and power; and no one believed the royal prerogative to be interested in the maintenance of rotten boroughs, the scandalous profits of lawyers, or the frauds of debtors. Berkley, therefore, considered these conditions far less harsh than he had ever ventured to hope; and never, he thought, had a crown so nearly lost, been recovered at so cheap a rate. About the 28th of July, he solicited and obtained permission to communicate them to the King, before they were officially presented to him by the army. His surprise was even greater than at the first interview: Charles thought the conditions very harsh, and said indignantly; "If they had a mind to close with me, they would never impose so hard terms upon me." Berkley ventured to remonstrate, and insisted on the danger of refusal; but the King abruptly broke off the conversation by saying, "They cannot subsist without me, and, therefore, I

do not doubt but that I shall very shortly see them glad to condescend further, and accept more equal terms."¹

Berkley was vainly endeavouring to discover a reason for this confidence, when news arrived at headquarters that the most violent excitement prevailed in the City, that Westminster was closely surrounded by bands of citizens and apprentices, and that the Parliament might, at any moment, be forced to vote the King's return, the readmission of the eleven members, and other resolutions equally fatal to the army and its partizans. During the last fortnight—and especially since leave of absence for six months had been sent to the eleven members,² so as to deprive their friends of all immediate hope,—symptoms of the most menacing character, mobs, petitions, and tumultuous cries, had preceded this outbreak; it had been finally occasioned by a measure which both parties regarded as decisive. The Presbyterian Committee, which for two months had had the command of the London militia, was dissolved on the 23rd of July, and the Independents resumed possession of that important branch of authority. The City could not consent to allow itself to be thus represented and commanded by its enemies; in a very few hours, the excitement became general; a paper was posted up in Skinners' Hall, containing an engagement to make every effort to enable the King to return to London with honour

¹ Berkley's *Memoirs*, pp. 23, 25, 28, 30, 32.

² On the 20th of July.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 712; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 628.

and freedom, and it was instantly covered with an immense number of signatures: on the departure of the courier for head-quarters, copies of it were sent to all parts of the kingdom; the Reformado officers made common cause with the people; and everything seemed to indicate a movement as general as it was earnest.¹

The army immediately resumed its march towards London; Fairfax wrote a threatening letter in its name; in both Houses, the Independent party, relying on its support, declared all persons who should sign the City engagement, to be guilty of treason. But the threat came too late to restrain the public excitement. On the 20th of July, two days after this declaration was issued, numerous bodies of apprentices, Reformados, and boatmen, thronged round Westminster Hall, with loud and insulting cries, making it evident that they had come to execute some audacious purpose. On taking their seats, the Commons, in alarm, ordered that the doors should be shut, and that no member should leave the House without permission. A petition arrived from the Common Council, in moderate and respectful language, demanding that the command of the militia should be restored to the officers who had just been displaced, and informing the Parliament of the irritation of the people, but in no respect braving its authority. While this petition was under discussion, the Speaker was informed that the assembled multitude had another to present; two members went out to receive it; it was read without delay, and was found to express the same wishes as that of the

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 712; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 635; Whitelocke, p. 258; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 144.

Common Council, in much less intemperate language than had been anticipated. But the debate was protracted; the answer was delayed; the day was drawing to a close; the mob, instead of growing weary, grew angry; all the approaches to the House were occupied; and the noise of footsteps and voices was heard in the hall. Shouts for admission soon became audible, and the door was assailed with violent blows. Many of the members drew their swords, and for a moment drove back the intruders. The House of Lords was in equal danger: some apprentices had scaled the windows, and were throwing down stones, quite ready to proceed to greater violence if they were not attended to. The members still resisted; but at length the door of the House of Commons was broken open, and forty or fifty of the most furious rioters rushed in, with their hats on their heads, and the most menacing gestures, exclaiming, "Vote! vote!" The crowd pressed on behind them; the House gave way; the obnoxious ordinance was rescinded, and the command of the militia restored to the Presbyterian Committee. The tumult seemed at an end; the members rose to depart: the Speaker had left the chair, but a band of rioters seized him, and forced him to resume his seat. "What further would you have?" he asked. "That the King be desired to come to London forthwith." The proposition was immediately put to the vote and adopted. Ludlow alone opposed it by a loud negative.¹

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 717; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 640—644; Whitelocke, pp. 260, 261; Hollis's Memoirs, p. 144; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 88.

At this news, almost equal excitement prevailed in the army, especially in the lower ranks, among the agitators and soldiers; the King was accused on all sides of complicity and perfidy. Lord Lauderdale, who had come from London to confer with him on the part of the Scottish Commissioners, was regarded with so much distrust that, one morning, before he was up, a body of soldiers abruptly entered his bedroom, and forced him to leave immediately, without revisiting the King.¹ Ashburnham, who had arrived three days previously, excited great irritation and suspicion by his disdainful insolence; he utterly refused to have any dealings with the agitators. "I was always bred in the best company," he said to Berkley, "and therefore cannot converse with such senseless fellows; if we can gain the officers over to the King, there is no doubt but they will be able to command their own army, and, therefore, I am resolved to apply myself totally to them;"² and, in fact, the Generals were almost the only persons whose acquaintance he sought. But even among those officers who had made advances to the King, several now began to hold themselves apart. "Sir," said Ireton to him, "you have an intention to be the arbitrator between the Parliament and us, and we mean to be it between your Majesty and the Parliament."³ Feeling some anxiety, however, at what had taken place in London, they resolved, on the 1st of August, to lay their propositions officially before him. Ashburnham and Berkley were present at the conference. Charles was

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 737.

² Berkley's Memoirs, pp. 32, 33.

³ Ibid. p. 15.

haughty and ungracious, listened to the propositions with an ironical smile, and rejected nearly all of them in brief and bitter words, as though he were confident of his own strength, and glad to give expression to his displeasure. Ireton bluntly urged the matter on him, saying that the army would make no further concessions; Charles interrupted him, and said, "You cannot be without me; you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." The officers looked at Berkley and Ashburnham with surprise, as if to ask the meaning of this reception; and Berkley, in his turn, attempted, but in vain, by anxious glances to warn the King of his imprudence. At length he went up to him, and whispered, "Your Majesty speaks as if you had some secret strength and power that I do not know of; and since your Majesty hath concealed it from me, I wish you had concealed it from these men too."¹ Charles perceived that he had said too much, and hastened to lower his tone; but the officers, or at least most of them, had already taken their resolution. Rainsborough, indeed, who was more opposed than the rest to any accommodation, had quietly left the room to proclaim it through the army that it was impossible to put any confidence in the King; and the conference ended listlessly and unsatisfactorily, as between persons who could no longer agree with or delude one another.

The officers had but just returned to head-quarters, when a number of carriages arrived from London, and, to the great astonishment of the crowd, more than sixty members of Parliament alighted from them,

¹ Berkley's Memoirs, pp. 34, 35.

headed by the Speakers of the two Houses, Lord Manchester and Lenthall,¹ who stated that they had fled from the fury of the populace, and come to the army to seek liberty and safety. The delight of the soldiers was equal to their surprise: they had dreaded a violent rupture with the Parliament, and now the Parliament itself, its legal leaders and faithful members, had come to them for protection. Both officers and soldiers thronged round the fugitives, listened with indignation to the narrative of the dangers and insults to which they had been exposed, loaded them with thanks and offers of service, and praised the Lord for their patriotic resolution. Cromwell and his friends alone feigned surprise; for the last five days, by means of their correspondents in London, and particularly by the intervention of St. John, Haslerig, Vane, and Ludlow, they had been labouring to effect this schism in the Parliament.²

Berkley hastened to communicate this melancholy news to the King, and conjured him to write without delay to the leaders of the army, to give them reason to hope a better reception for their proposals, or at least to rebut all suspicions, and lessen the ill effect of their last interview. This, he said, was the advice

¹ This number is very uncertain. Hollis (p. 145) positively enumerates eight Lords and fifty eight members of the House of Commons. Rushworth (part iv. vol. i. p. 750) mentions fourteen Lords, and *about* a hundred members of the House of Commons; and Whitelocke, (p. 263) makes the same statement. When the names were called over in the House of Lords on the 30th of July, twenty peers were absent (Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 727). All the fugitives, however, did not leave London simultaneously.

² Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 723—731; Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 646; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 88.

of Cromwell and Ireton, who, on these terms, would still answer for the friendly disposition of the army. But Charles had also received news from London: the riot had broken out with his full consent; and he was informed that, on the very day of the departure of the fugitives, the remaining members, who were far more numerous, had elected two new Speakers, Mr. Pelham for the House of Commons, and Lord Willoughby of Parham for the House of Lords; that the eleven excluded members had resumed their seats; and that the Houses, thus reconstituted, had immediately given orders that the army should suspend its march, that the City should prepare all its means of defence, and that Massey, Brown, Waller, and Poyntz should raise regiments with all possible haste. The ardour of the Londoners was, it was said, extreme: at a meeting of the Common Council, thousands of apprentices had presented themselves, and sworn to do their utmost in its defence, against any enemies, and in spite of all risks. The inhabitants of the borough of Southwark alone had expressed opposite sentiments; but when they brought their petition to Guildhall, Poyntz, with some of his officers, had driven them back so roughly, that it was not expected they would venture to return. Money was being raised, and cannon had been placed on the ramparts. Finally, the King was formally invited to return to London; and this request, after being proclaimed by sound of trumpet through all the streets, was to reach him in a few hours, or at latest, on the following day.¹

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. pp. 652—656; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 728; Whitelocke, p. 262.

The King told Berkley that he would wait, as there would always be time enough to write such a letter. Meanwhile, a messenger arrived from headquarters; new fugitives from Westminster had come to join their colleagues; others had written word that they intended to retire into the country, and that they utterly disavowed the pretended Parliament. Even in London, the Independents, who, though not numerous, were bold, had lost neither time nor courage; they obstructed, delayed, and weakened all the measures that they could not positively prevent; the money raised was slowly turned to use; Massey's recruits were scantily provided with arms; some Presbyterian ministers, Marshall among others, gained over by the army, spread alarm and suggested compromise wherever they went; and many honest members of both the Parliament and the Common Council already welcomed every proposal of reconciliation, and rejoiced in the hope of having the honour of restoring peace. Finally Cromwell sent word to Ashburnham that, within two days, the City would be in the power of the army.¹

Charles still hesitated: he assembled his most trusted servants; the letter was drafted, discussed, set aside, and resumed; at length he signed it.² Ashburnham and Berkley set out with it to headquarters; on their road they met a second messenger, who had been sent by two friendly officers to urge its imme-

¹ Berkley's *Memoirs*, p. 38; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 90; Whitelocke, p. 263; Hollis's *Memoirs*, p. 148.

² On the 4th of August.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 753.

diate transmission ; and when they reached the camp, they found that the submission of the City had arrived before them. On the 3rd of August, the fugitive members had reviewed the army on Hounslow Heath amidst the loudest acclamations ; and it was now marching with them to London, in the certainty of entering the City without any obstacle. The King's letter and proffer of alliance were no longer of any value to the conquerors.¹

Two days afterwards, on the 6th of August, a brilliant and formidable cavalcade proceeded from Kensington to Westminster ; three regiments formed the vanguard, and a fourth brought up the rear ; between them rode Fairfax and his staff, with the fugitive members in their carriages ; and behind them thronged vast crowds of their partizans, eager to share in their triumph. The road was lined by a double file of soldiers, all with branches of laurel in their hats, and shouting, "God save the Parliament! the free Parliament!" At Hyde Park, the Lord Mayor and aldermen were waiting to congratulate the general on the restoration of peace between the army and the City ; but Fairfax scarcely vouchsafed them any answer as he passed. Further on, at Charing Cross, the Common Council also presented themselves in a body, and met with an equally unfavourable reception. On reaching Westminster Hall, it was found that the Presbyterian leaders had either fled or hidden themselves ; Fairfax restored the patrons of the army to their seats, listened modestly to their pompous thanks,

¹ Berkley's Memoirs, p. 39 ; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 750.

heard them vote a month's pay for his troops, and then went to take possession of the Tower, of which he was at once appointed Governor.¹

Two days afterwards, with Skippon in command of the centre, and Cromwell heading the rear, the whole army marched through London in serious silence and the strictest order; no excess was committed, no citizen received even the slightest insult;² the leaders were anxious at once to quiet and intimidate the City. Their object was fully gained; on seeing the troops pass on with such exact discipline and haughty bearing, at once so docile and so dangerous, the Presbyterians shut themselves up in their houses, the Independents resumed undivided possession of power, and the timid rallied confidently round the victors. The Common Council invited Fairfax and his officers to a public dinner: he declined the invitation; but the only result of his refusal was to induce them to hasten the completion of a richly-chased golden ewer which they intended to offer him.³ A number of the apprentices even came to present him their congratulations, and he received them in solemn audience, as he was delighted to make it appear that the army had many partizans among that formidable body.⁴ The two Houses, on their side, and especially the Lords, made a great parade of servile gratitude: they voted, on the

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 756; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 736; *Hollis's Memoirs*, p. 169.

² Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 90; *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 469; *Whitelocke*, p. 264.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 761—764; *Hollis's Memoirs*, p. 178.

⁴ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 778.

6th of August, that all that had been done in the absence of the members who had fled to the army was absolutely null and void, and did not need to be rescinded.¹ This vote caused the Commons some alarm; they were ready to revoke any act, and to prosecute the authors of the riot which had caused the secession; but most of the members had remained at Westminster, and had concurred in those very acts which they were now called upon to declare absolutely null, and they thrice refused to yield this point.² On the next day, the 20th of August, a body of cavalry encamped in Hyde Park; picquets were stationed round the House of Commons, and at all its approaches; in the House itself, Cromwell and Ireton supported the resolution of the Lords with arguments and threats;³ it was at length adopted; and now nothing was wanting to complete the triumph of the army, for even those who had been brought into subjection by it, joined in proclaiming the legitimacy of its conduct.

After this great and facile success, the revolutionary movement, which, even among the Independents, had hitherto been restrained and regulated by the necessities of the conflict, took free course; all passions, hopes, and dreams, grew bolder, and were manifested with less reserve. In the higher ranks of the popular

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 745.

² On the 10th and 19th of August, the proposition was rejected by ninety-six votes against ninety-three, eighty-five against eighty-three, and eighty-seven against eighty-four.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 756—773.

³ Hollis's Memoirs, p. 172; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 758—773; Whitelocke, p. 264.

party, in the House of Commons, and in the general council of officers, republican schemes assumed a positive and definite shape ; for some time previously, Vane, Ludlow, Haslerig, Martyn, Scott, and Hutchinson, had scarcely attempted to answer when accused of hostility to monarchy ; they now spoke of it with undisguised contempt : the sovereignty of the people, represented by one sole assembly appointed by the people, was the ruling principle of their actions and speeches ; and in their private conversations, all idea of an accommodation with the King, no matter on what terms, was treated as treason. In the lower ranks both of the army and people, the fermentation of the public mind was no less general and intense ; unprecedented reforms of every kind were demanded ; reformers sprang up on every side, on whose impetuous desires no law could impose respect, and to whom no obstacle seemed insurmountable ; for they were all the more confident and imperious, in proportion to the profundity of their ignorance and obscurity, and their pamphlets and petitions daily hurled fresh defiance at all who opposed them. When cited before the judges, they called in question the authority of the judges themselves, and required them to leave seats which they had usurped ; when attacked by Presbyterian ministers in the churches, they dashed suddenly towards the pulpit, tore the preacher from his place, and preached in their turn, with sincere enthusiasm, though they artfully turned their wild creed to the advantage of their passions. No clear and complete doctrinal system, no precise and general purpose, characterized this

movement; and though these popular champions were all republicans, their ideas and aspirations extended far beyond a mere revolution in the Government; they hoped to effect a change in society itself, and to alter the mutual relations, manners, and feelings, of the community. But in this respect, their notions were crude and confused. Some spent their daring in noisily promoting some important but partial innovation, such as the destruction of the privileges of the peerage or of the lawyers; others were content with indulging in some pious reverie, such as expecting the speedy reign of the Lord. Some, under the name of *Rationalists*, claimed absolute sovereignty for the reason of each individual;¹ others talked of introducing a strict equality of rights and property among all men, and their enemies took advantage of this circumstance to give them all the name of *Levellers*. But neither this unpopular name, which they always indignantly rejected, nor any other generic appellation could properly be applied to them, for they neither formed a sect devoted to any systematic belief, nor a faction eager to attain a definite object. Whether citizens or soldiers, visionaries or demagogues, an earnest though unintelligent craving for innovation, a vague instinct of equality, and a rude spirit of independence, animated them all; and, inspired by a blind but disinterested ambition, and inexorable towards all whom they deemed weak or selfish, they communicated strength or alarm to all parties in turn, as all were successively compelled to use and to dupe them.

¹ Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 40.

No one had succeeded so well as Cromwell in his treatment of them; no one lived on terms of such trustful intimacy as he did with these obscure but powerful enthusiasts. Everything about him had pleased them at first sight:—the irregular flights of his imagination, his readiness to become the equal and companion of the meanest friends, his mystic and familiar language, the alternate triviality and enthusiasm of his manner, which passed in turn for soldierly frankness and heavenly inspiration, and even the supple freedom of his genius, which seemed to employ all the resources of worldly ability in the service of a holy cause. He had, accordingly, sought and found his most useful agents among this class—Ayres, Evanson, Berry, Sexby, Sheppard, and Wildman; all of whom were leading members of the Council of Agitators, and always ready, at a word from the Lieutenant-general, to raise the army against either Parliament or King. Even Lilburne himself, the most indomitable and least credulous of these men, who had lately left his regiment because he found it impossible to obey orders, felt great confidence in Cromwell. “I have looked upon you,” he wrote to him on the 25th of March, 1647, “as the most absolute, single-hearted great man in England, untainted and unbiassed with ends of your own;” and Cromwell had more than once turned Lilburne’s courage to account, in his conflicts with the Presbyterians. But when the ruin of the Presbyterians seemed to be complete, when the Independents had the King, the Parliament, and the City, in their power, when all the revolutionary passions

and pretensions burst forth insatiably, blindly, and ungovernably,—the position of the leaders of the victorious party, and particularly of Cromwell, who was already the object of universal attention, soon became affected. In their turn, they incurred suspicion and felt alarm. Many of their friends had viewed with disapprobation the negotiations which had been commenced with the King; necessity alone, the danger of falling beneath the sway of the Presbyterians, had overcome their repugnance, and silenced their distrust. But now all necessity had disappeared; the Lord had delivered all their enemies into the hands of His servants. Yet, instead of securing and completing the triumph of His cause, they continued to live on friendly terms, and even to treat, with the delinquents. The first and most guilty of all, the man on whose head some voices had, two years before,¹ called down public vengeance, and who lately, in his insane pride, had rejected propositions which, perhaps, ought never to have been presented to him—the King, far from having lost anything by the late events, had almost recovered his former power and splendour. By the consent of the Generals, he had taken up his abode in his palace of Hampton Court, on the 24th of August; and there he was still served with idolatrous pomp, and surrounded by a court more arrogant than ever. His former advisers, Richmond, Hertford, Capel, and Southampton, had hastened to rejoin him, as though

¹ As early as the month of May, 1646, several Independents demanded that the King should be punished as the greatest delinquent. —Baillie's Letters, vol. ii. pp. 209, 213, 225.

he had been on the point of resuming and exercising sovereign power.¹ Ormonde himself, the most dangerous leader of the Irish Royalists, who had recently withstood the Parliament so boldly in that kingdom, and hardly consented to surrender Dublin in obedience to the King's orders—even Ormonde, on his return to England, had been received by the General, the Lieutenant-general, and nearly all the chief officers of the army, with assiduous politeness,² and was allowed free access to the King, with whom he was doubtless meditating some fresh insurrection in Ireland. At the same time, the King's most active confidants, Berkley, Ashburnham, Ford, and Apsley, were continually passing to and fro between the Court and head-quarters; the doors of Cromwell and Ireton were always open to them, whilst numbers of godly men were unable to gain admission.³ Ireton and Cromwell, in their turn, maintained a constant correspondence with the King, either personally or by their messengers; they had been seen walking alone with him in the park, and were known to be often closeted with him. Even their wives, Mrs. Cromwell, Mrs. Ireton, and Mrs. Whalley, had been presented at Hampton Court, and the King had received them with great honours.⁴ So much familiarity was scandalous; so much parleying must be preliminary to some act of treason. This language daily gained ground among the republicans and enthusiasts, more especially in the private meetings of the soldiers.

¹ Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 27; Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, p. 305.

² Whitelocke, p. 267.

³ Berkley's *Memoirs*, p. 40.

⁴ Clarendon's *State Papers*, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 40.

From his prison in the Tower, where he had been confined by the House of Lords, in order, if possible, to stifle his inflammatory speeches and pamphlets, Lilburne loaded Cromwell with the most violent reproaches, in a letter which terminated in these words: "If you slight this as you have done all my preceding addresses, the uttermost of my strength and influence shall speedily be among you, to produce such changes in your fortune as you little look for."¹

Cromwell gave little heed to Lilburne's counsels and threats; but they became formidable when backed by the anger of many of his hitherto devoted adherents. Though ready to plunge, often rashly, into intrigues which promised a hopeful issue, he nevertheless had a keen and unerring instinct of dangers and obstacles, and was always sure, whatever his aim or passion might be, to look around him on every side, to ascertain his true position, and to act accordingly. He now requested Berkley and Ashburnham to visit him less frequently, and begged the King to permit him to act towards him with greater reserve. "If I am an honest man," he said, "I have said enough of the sincerity of my intentions; if I am not, nothing is enough."² At the same time he went to the Tower, paid Lilburne a long visit, talked earnestly of his zeal for their common cause, vehemently insisted on the danger of the least disunion, inquired what he intended to do when he was set at liberty, and, on taking his leave, promised to use his influence with

¹ The letter is dated on the 13th of August, 1647.

² Berkley's Memoirs, p. 42.

the Committee to whom his complaint had been referred, to obtain his speedy release.¹

Lilburne was not set at liberty ; the Committee, of which Henry Martyn was chairman, even postponed their report on his case ; and Cromwell's dealings with the King, though more reserved, were not less active. Though free from the blind presumption of his party, and harassed by ambition and doubt, his mind was disturbed by the most opposite calculations and anticipations, and he was unwilling thoroughly to adopt or reject any plan. The success of the republicans appeared to him to be doubtful, and the desires of the enthusiasts, chimerical ; the disputatious and passionate insubordination of the soldiers threatened his own authority ; his spirit revolted from disorder, even while he promoted it ; the name of the King was still a power, his alliance a means of success, and his restoration a chance of fortune : he kept this and other possibilities in reserve, ready to abandon any one of them for a better, pushing his own advancement by all means, and daily turning towards that course of action which seemed to promise the greatest and most immediate success. The King, on his side, well aware of the state of feeling in the Parliament and army, gave a new direction to his negotiations : he now addressed himself less to the dominant party than to its leaders, and promised individual favours rather than public concessions. Ireton was offered the government of Ireland ; Cromwell was promised the chief command of the army, the colonelcy of the King's

¹ *Biographia Britannica*, vol. v. p. 2950.

Guard, the title of Earl of Essex, and the order of the Garter; advantages of a similar nature were to be conferred on their principal friends. Meantime, two Royalists, Judge Jenkins and a Cavalier named Sir Lewis Dives, who were prisoners in the Tower with Lilburne, were constantly telling him of the treaty which, they said, had already been concluded between the Generals and the Court; and by specifying its conditions, they awakened his suspicions, and encouraged him to spread them abroad. If suspected, such a transaction would throw the republican party into confusion; if accepted, it would either secure the King the support of the leaders, or deprive them, in their turn, of all support.¹

These manœuvres could not escape the notice of the two Generals: they had surrounded the King with their spies; Colonel Whalley, whose regiment had been appointed to guard him, was Cromwell's cousin and creature; the slightest incidents in the King's life, his walks and conversations, the visits and proceedings of his counsellors, and the indiscretions of his servants, were minutely reported to them;² and they more than once complained that reports from Hampton Court, disseminated as it were by design, by destroying their influence with the army, disabled them from serving the King in that quarter. Ireton particularly, a man of sterner mind and less tolerant of falsehood, was so much displeased, that he was on the point of

¹ Berkley's Memoirs, p. 40; Whitelocke, p. 269.

² In Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 795, will be found a letter from Whalley, giving an account of the manner in which the King passed his time, and of all that occurred at Hampton Court.

breaking off the negotiations. They were, however, continued; and soon even the public conduct of the Generals seemed to confirm the suspicions of the soldiers. At the instance of the Scots, and in order to give some satisfaction to the pacific portion of the public, the Parliament had decided, on the 27th of August, that the Newcastle propositions should be presented once more to the King;¹ and the Earls of Lauderdale and Lanark, who had recently arrived at Hampton Court, again conjured him to accept them, and to unite with the Presbyterians, who alone were sincere in their desire to save him.² Alarmed at this danger, Cromwell and Ireton redoubled their protestations and promises of fidelity to him, urged him to reject the propositions of the Parliament, and to demand that those of the army should be taken as the basis of any new negotiation; and they promised to sustain his demand by all means in their power. "We will purge, and purge, and purge," said Ireton, "and never leave purging the Houses till we have made them of such a temper as shall do his Majesty's business; and rather than fall short of what is promised, I would join with French, Spaniard, Cavalier, or any that will join with me to force them to it."³ Charles followed the advice of the Generals; and on receipt of his answer,⁴ a violent debate arose in the House of Commons. The irritated Presbyterians would not abandon their propositions, and the enthusiasts demanded that

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 774, 775.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 478.

³ Huntington's Reasons for laying down his Commission, p. 13.

⁴ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 777—779.

no further offers should be received or made. In accordance-with their promise, Cromwell and Ireton urged that the King's desire should be granted, and a treaty made between him and the Parliament, on the terms offered by the army; but this step, though bold, proved unavailing, as both Presbyterians and enthusiasts combined to defeat it.¹

The distrust and ill-feeling among the soldiers now began to assume a menacing character; throughout the cantonments of the army meetings were held, sometimes tumultuously, and sometimes secretly; the words *ambition*, *treachery*, and *falsehood* were everywhere heard in connection with Cromwell's name; and any unguarded expressions he had used were carefully treasured up, to be commented upon with angry vehemence. He had been heard suggesting the necessity of putting an end to severities against the Cavaliers; he had said, "Now that I hold the King in my hand, I have the Parliament in my pocket;"² and at another time he had remarked, "What a sway Stapleton and Hollis had heretofore in the kingdom! I know nothing to the contrary but that I am as well able to govern the kingdom as either of them."³ Finally it was Cromwell who, in the committee appointed to consider Lilburne's case, had brought forward a thousand little incidents to obtain his detention in prison.⁴ Lilburne formally denounced him to the agitators,

¹ Berkley's *Memoirs*, p. 44; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 81; Huntington's *Reasons*, p. 14; Commons' *Journals*, September 22, 1647.

² Banks' *Critical Review*, p. 83.

³ Huntington's *Reasons for laying down his Commission*, p. 14.

⁴ *Biographia Britannica*, vol. v. p. 2950.

and enumerated all the offices which he and his adherents had engrossed.¹ The agitators, in their turn, petitioned the Parliament for Lilburne's liberation,² and applied to Fairfax for the release of four soldiers who, they said, had been confined for merely speaking in insolent and threatening language of the King.³ It was even proposed by Wildman, Lilburne, and some others, to get rid of Cromwell by assassination.⁴ No such attempt, however, was made; but either on this ground, or for some other cause, the council of agitators itself incurred the suspicion of the soldiers; and it was said that the Lieutenant-general had spies among its members who informed him of all that occurred. To escape this danger, several regiments appointed, under the name of *new agents*, agitators of a more reliable character, who were instructed to watch traitors and to serve the good cause, in all places and at any cost. Some of the superior officers, and several members of the House of Commons—Rainsborough, Ewers, Harrison, Robert Lilburne,⁵ and Scott—placed themselves at the head of this insurrectionary movement; and the most violent faction, thus separated from the general council of officers and from the Parliament, began openly to proclaim their maxims and designs.⁶

Cromwell became alarmed; he saw disunion in the

¹ *Biographia Britannica*, p. 2949.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 790.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 808, 811.

⁴ Hollis's *Memoirs*, p. 185; Berkley's *Memoirs*, p. 44.

⁵ The brother of John Lilburne, and colonel of an infantry regiment.

⁶ At the beginning of October, 1647.—Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 91; *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. ix. p. 526-531.

army, while the Royalists and Presbyterians were eagerly watching for an opportunity to profit by its dissensions; and at the same time he found himself attacked by men of inflexible resolution, who had hitherto been his most faithful allies and his most useful instruments. The King's intentions, too, daily became more open to suspicion: "I shall play my game as well as I can," said Charles to Ireton, who pressed him to join them publicly;¹ and Lords Lauderdale and Lanark, who were still assiduous in their attendance on the King, promised him the support of a Scottish army, if he would accept their alliance. The conditions of the treaty, it was said, had already been agreed on; and even in Scotland, where Hamilton's influence was superior to that of Argyle, troops were marching towards the border.² The English Cavaliers, on their side, Capel, Langdale, and Musgrave, were secretly preparing to rise once more in arms. "Rest assured," the King said to Capel, "it cannot be long before there will be a war between the two nations, in which the Scots promise themselves an universal concurrence from all the Presbyterians in England. In such a conjuncture, I wish my own party would put themselves in arms, as otherwise I cannot expect great benefit by the success of either."³ Meantime, the position of the army, which was quartered round London, became critical; the City met all demands for money to pay the troops, with the utmost apathy;

¹ *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 305.

² *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 478; *Rushworth*, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 786, 810.

³ *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 477.

and the officers found it difficult to govern troops whom they were unable to pay.¹ Pamphlets were everywhere in circulation, containing the most damaging revelations, both of the designs of the soldiers to overthrow the King, and of the King's negotiations with the Generals. In vain had Fairfax demanded and obtained the establishment of a rigorous censorship;² in vain had Cromwell represented to the City the urgent necessities of the army; in vain had he displayed all the resources of reason and cunning, to persuade the fanatics that they must curb their zeal if they wished to be paid by the moderate men, and to convince the moderate men that, in order to check the fanatics, they must pay them;³ in vain, even, had he obtained the appointment of several of his trustiest adherents, among the new agents of the soldiers:⁴ his efforts produced no result; his prudence even turned against him; he had contrived to obtain sources of information and means of action in all parties; and, on every side, an impetuous and irresistible excitement threatened to frustrate his calculations, and to ruin his influence. All his precautions had ended only in involving him in increased difficulties and dangers.

While in this state of perplexity, one of the numerous spies whom he had at Hampton Court, even in the

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 804, 815, 822, 837—840; Whitelocke, p. 272.

² By an ordinance of the 30th of September, 1647.—Parliamentary History. vol. iii. cols. 779—781; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 799.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 883, 884.

⁴ Huntington's Reasons, p. 15.

King's bedchamber, sent him word that, on that very day, a letter was to be sent to the Queen, explaining the King's real intentions with regard to the army and its leaders. The letter was sewn up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it, who was not in the secret, was to come with the saddle on his head, at about ten o'clock at night, to the Blue Boar inn in Holborn, where a horse was prepared to carry him to Dover, from whence the letter was to be transmitted to France. Cromwell and Ireton took their resolution at once; in the dress of common troopers, and attended by one trusty soldier, they left Windsor, and proceeded to the inn in question. On arriving, they posted their man at the gate, and entering the inn, called for cans of beer, and sat drinking for some time. About ten o'clock, the messenger appeared, with a saddle on his head; their sentinel immediately gave them notice of his arrival; on which they went out, sword in hand, seized his saddle on the pretext that they had orders to search everything, carried it into their room, cut it open, found the letter, and then returned the saddle to the terrified messenger, telling him good-humouredly that he was an honest fellow, and might now continue his journey.

Their information proved correct; Charles had, in fact, written to the Queen that both factions courted him with equal assiduity, and that whichever bid fairest for him should have him, but that he thought he would rather close with the Scottish Presbyterians than with the army. "Leave me to manage," he added, "I am better informed of all circumstances

than you can be; but you may be entirely easy as to whatever concessions I shall make them; for I shall know, in due time, how to deal with the rogues, who, instead of a silken garter, shall be fitted with a hempen cord." The two Generals looked at each other in amaze; and, with all their suspicions thus confirmed, they returned at once to Windsor, feeling as determined in their intentions towards the King as they were certain of his views with regard to themselves.¹

It was full time that their conduct should cease to be perplexed and doubtful; for the irritation of the enthusiasts was finding vent, and had thrown the army into the most violent confusion. On the 9th of October, in the name of five regiments of cavalry, one of which was Cromwell's own regiment, the new agitators prepared, under the name of *The Case of the Army*, a long statement of their suspicions, principles, and wishes. On the 18th, this document was solemnly presented to the General; and on the first of November, a second pamphlet, entitled, *An Agreement of the people for a Firm and Present Peace, on the ground of Common Right*, was addressed to the whole nation in the name of sixteen regiments. In both of these pamphlets, the soldiers accused their officers of treason and the Parliament of oppression, exhorted their comrades to join them, and demanded that the existing Parliament should be speedily dissolved; that, in future, no individual or body of

¹ This happened in the month of October.—Clarendon's *State Papers*, vol. i. Appendix, p. 38; Forster's *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, vol. iv. pp. 229—232.

men should share the sovereign power with the House of Commons; that it should be elected triennially; that the right of suffrage should be equally distributed all over the land, with a due regard to population and taxes, that no member of Parliament should be capable of immediate re-election, and that no citizen should be imprisoned for debt or forced to perform military service, or be excluded from public employments on account of his religion; that the people, in the counties, should elect all their own magistrates; that the civil laws, which extended equally to all, should be reformed and recast in a single code; and finally, that certain rights, and particularly liberty of conscience, should be proclaimed inviolable, and superior to all human authority.¹

At this declaration of popular ideas and hopes, the leaders were thrown into great disquietude. Many of them, and those not the least sensible, although hostile to the Court and to the Presbyterians, nevertheless regarded kingship and the House of Lords as so powerful, and so deeply rooted in the institutions, laws, and manners of the country, that the establishment of a republic, when it was thus distinctly mooted, appeared to them only a dangerous absurdity. Among the republicans themselves, the majority, though sincere and daring in their views, were far from sharing all the desires of the soldiers; some, who could now command the elections in their town or county, were afraid of losing their influence

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 845, 859; Whitelocke, pp. 276, 277; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. pp. 445—450.

by the adoption of a new system; others, who had purchased Church property, were alarmed to find that the people were indignant that it had been sold at so low a price, and demanded that all such sales should be annulled; the lawyers, too, were anxious to retain their old position and its profits; and all earnestly rejected the idea of a speedy dissolution of the House, and the exposure of the Parliamentary cause to the risks of a new election. Their good sense, moreover, revolted at the social unimportance, the insane mysticism, and the arrogant insubordination of the reforming soldiers. How was it possible to establish a government, in opposition to both Royalists and Presbyterians, with an ungovernable faction, so insensate as daily to imperil the union of the army, for its sole support? Was it wise to attack, in furtherance of the wild reveries of obscure fanatics, all the ancient and venerable institutions and rights of the country? And yet, throughout nearly the whole of the kingdom, these same reveries had produced an unprecedented excitement in the minds of the lower orders; all the noble but confused notions of absolute justice, all the passionate cravings after equality of happiness, which, though often dormant, are never extinguished in the heart of man, now burst forth on every side with blind and furious confidence; and even those leaders who refused to listen to them, knew not how to answer them, for, in their souls, they cherished the principles which prompted the utterance of these desires.

Their first proceedings were consequently feeble and

undecided. Both Houses voted that the two pamphlets were an offence against the government of the kingdom, and that their authors should be prosecuted and punished; but at the same time, out of complaisance to the republicans, they declared that the King was bound to adopt whatever the Parliament might propose to him.¹ The general council of officers met at Putney on the 22nd of October, invited the principal agitators to join them, and directed a committee, of which several agitators were members, to prepare a statement of their demands with the least possible delay.² On the 2nd of November, the committee presented to Parliament a series of propositions, embodying most of these demands, but admitting at the same time the title and essential prerogatives of the King.³ The agitators protested against this; and they were promised, that at an early meeting of the council, the question of the continuance of monarchy should be freely discussed. But, when the day arrived, Ireton abruptly left the council, declaring that he would never resume his seat in it, if such matters were so much as ventilated by its members. The discussion was postponed to the following Monday, the 6th of November; and either with a view still to evade it, or because greater complaisance was expected from the entire body of soldiers, it was agreed that the army should be summoned to a general rendezvous, at which it might give expression to its sentiments.⁴

¹ On the 6th of November.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 785.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 849.

³ *Ibid.* p. 861.

⁴ Clarendon's *State Papers*, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 41; Letter of several

But Cromwell, who had suggested this remedy, at once perceived the danger with which it would be attended. Each fresh debate would increase disunion in the army; and the more it was consulted, the more it would neglect its leaders, and fall into anarchy.¹ In order to make use of it, and even to save it, it was necessary, without delay and at any risk, to restore discipline among its ranks, and regain authority for its commanders. Unavoidable conditions regulated the attainment of this object. It was evident that the soldiers, or at least the most active among them, the leaders and fanatics, were determined to get rid of the King; that they would abandon, and even attack all who appeared favourable to him; and that that man alone would possess their obedience and command their strength, who should adopt their common resolution on this point, and become the executor of their will. Cromwell made up his mind. When the council met, all discussion was forbidden; the superior officers declared that, in order to restore harmony in the army, both officers and agitators must all return to their regiments; that, instead of one general rendezvous, three partial meetings should be held at the quarters of the principal brigades; and that, in the meanwhile, the council would suspend its meetings, and allow the General and the Parliament to act as they thought fit.² At the same time, the King's position at Hampton

agitators to their respective regiments; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. pp. 451, 452.

¹ Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 40.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 866.

Court suddenly changed; his advisers, Richmond, Southampton and Ormonde, received orders to depart; his most trusted servants, and among the rest Berkley and Ashburnham, were withdrawn from attendance on his person; his guards were doubled: and he was no longer allowed the same liberty in his walks. Sinister rumours reached him from every side; it was stated that the soldiers intended to seize his person, and remove him from the custody of the officers, just as the officers had taken him out of the hands of the Parliament. Cromwell himself wrote in some anxiety on this point to Colonel Whalley, either because he really feared some attempt of the kind, or because he merely wished to alarm the King, or more probably because, with his constant anxiety to provide against all emergencies, he was desirous still to deceive him as to his intentions, and to feign a wish to do him service.¹

These changes and reports, the additional restrictions to which he was subjected, the rumours which constantly reached him of treachery, unprecedented designs, and even assassination—all plunged the unhappy Charles into a state of anxiety which daily became more poignant. His imagination, which was vivid and sensitive, although sombre, was deeply affected by the alteration in his condition; a bad day's sport, an unpleasant dream, the extinction of his lamp during the night,² were all regarded by him as sinister omens; he believed anything possible on the part of

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 842; Hollis's *Memoirs*, p. 187; Huntington's *Reasons*, p. 15; Berkley's *Memoirs*, p. 48; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 479; Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, p. 305.

² Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 88.

his enemies, although his pride refused to believe that they would ever venture to dare their utmost. He was advised to fly, and the temptation was strong to do so; but whither? how? and with what help? The Scottish Commissioners offered to favour his escape; one day, while he was hunting, Lord Lauderdale sent him word that he was close at hand with fifty horse, and that, if he would join them, they would ride with all haste towards the North.¹ But sudden resolutions bewildered the King; and besides, what asylum could he expect to find in Scotland, which had already sold him to his enemies, and where it would be no longer possible for him to reject Presbyterianism and the Covenant? He refused to go. Others recommended him to take ship and retire to Jersey, where the facilities he would have for passing to the Continent would force all parties to treat him with consideration. But in reliance on their secret promises, he still reckoned on the goodwill of the officers; he flattered himself that their coolness was only assumed and temporary, and that, at the ensuing rendezvous of the army, they would crush the agitators, restore discipline, and resume negotiations with him. He was unwilling to leave England until this hope proved illusory.² Yet the idea of flight daily became more familiar and urgent: he was told that a German prophet had presented himself before the council of agitators, announcing that he was sent to reveal to them the will of heaven; but that, when he

¹ Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, p. 324.

² Berkley's *Memoirs*, p. 47; Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 307; Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, p. 326; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 92.

mentioned reconciliation with the King, they refused to listen to him. By every possible means, Cromwell insinuated to the King that he must fly. Some one, it is uncertain who it was, recommended the Isle of Wight as a safe and convenient place of refuge; it was close to the mainland; its population was Royalist; and quite recently, Colonel Hammond, nephew of one of the King's most faithful chaplains, had been appointed its governor. Charles paid more attention to this suggestion than to any other, collected information about the island, and even made some preparations for flight.¹ But he still hesitated, and sought reasons for deciding on every side. An astrologer, named William Lilly, was then famous in London; and though he inclined towards the popular party, he refused predictions and advice to none who would pay for them. The King commissioned a woman, Mrs. Whorewood, to consult him, on his behalf, with respect to the place to which it would be best for him to retire; and of a thousand pounds which the King had lately received from Alderman Adams, a devoted Royalist, Mrs. Whorewood obtained five hundred for her mission.

¹ This evidently appears from a narrative of the King's residence in the Isle of Wight, addressed to Charles II., after his restoration, by Sir John Bowring, an otherwise obscure man, who was busily employed at this period in the secret manœuvres of Charles I. I am surprised that this little work, which, in spite of its errors, and though it was written by a man whose sole anxiety was to magnify his own services, nevertheless contains many curious and characteristic details, should hitherto have escaped the notice of historians. Mr. Godwin is, I think, the only one who has mentioned it. It was taken from among the papers of Lord Halifax, and printed in a small volume of *Miscellanies, Historical and Philological* (pp. 78—162), published in London in 1703. See also Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 951; Hollis's *Memoirs*, p. 187; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 92.

After solemnly consulting the stars, Lilly replied that the King had better retire towards the east, into Essex, about twenty miles from London; and Mrs. Whorewood hastened to Hampton Court with the answer.¹ But Charles had not waited for her return: on the 9th of November, an anonymous letter, written apparently by a sincere friend, warned him that the danger was pressing; that, on the previous evening, in a nocturnal meeting, the agitators had resolved to make away with him; and that the worst was to be feared if he did not immediately place himself beyond their reach.² Another communication besought him to beware of the guard, which, in two days, was to be posted in the palace.³ Filled with dismay, Charles resolved on flight; on the 11th of November, at nine o'clock in the evening, leaving several letters on his table, and attended by only one servant, William Legg, he left the palace by a back staircase, and hastened to a small door leading from the park into the forest, where Ashburnham and Berkley, whom he had informed of his design, were waiting for him with horses. They directed their course towards the south-west; the night was dark and stormy; the King alone was acquainted with the forest, and served as a guide to his companions; but they lost their way, and it was daybreak before they reached the little town of Sutton in Hampshire, where Ashburnham had ordered a relay of horses to be

¹ Lilly's History of his Life and Times, p. 60 (London, 1715); *Biographia Britannica*, vol. v. p. 2966.


² *Old Parliamentary History*, vol. xvi. p. 328; *Clarendon's State Papers*, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 41.

³ Berkley's *Memoirs*, p. 50.

prepared. At the inn at which they halted, a committee of Parliamentarians had already assembled, to discuss the affairs of the county. The royal party left the place without loss of time, and rode in the direction of Southampton, towards that part of the coast which lies opposite the Isle of Wight, although the King had not yet expressly declared to what place he intended to go. When they reached the brow of a hill near the town, Charles proposed that they should dismount, and consult on what was best to be done. First, it is said, they inquired about a ship which Ashburnham was to have secured, but of which they had received no intelligence; then they proposed to go into the western counties, where Berkley assured the King he would find numerous and devoted friends; finally, they suggested the Isle of Wight as the most convenient course to pursue, which would put an end to the perplexities of their position, and which, from the route they had taken, the King had evidently resolved to adopt when he left Hampton Court. But the governor was not aware of their coming—could he be trusted with security? It was resolved that Ashburnham and Berkley should go into the island, and, after sounding Hammond's fidelity, inform him of the confidence about to be reposed in him by his sovereign; and that the King should await their return at Titchfield, the residence of the mother of the Earl of Southampton. They parted; and on the following morning, the two Cavaliers landed in the island, and proceeded at once to Carisbrooke Castle, the residence of the governor. Hammond was not there; he was

at Newport, the chief town of the island, but was expected to return that evening. Ashburnham and Berkley rode out to meet him, and when they came up with him, informed him, without preamble, of the object of their visit. Hammond turned pale, the reins fell from his hands, and his whole body trembled. "Oh, gentlemen!" he said, "you have undone me by bringing the King into this island, if, at least, you have brought him; and if you have not, pray let him not come: for what between my duty to his Majesty, and my gratitude for this fresh obligation of confidence, and my observing my trust to the army, I shall be confounded." They endeavoured to calm him, pointing out the immense service he would render the King, and the engagements which the army itself had contracted towards his Majesty, and assuring him that if he were not of their opinion, the King would certainly not force himself upon him. Hammond continued to lament; but when the two Cavaliers, in their turn, appeared to distrust him, and were on the point of withdrawing their proposition, he manifested less irresolution, asked them where the King was, and whether he was exposed to any danger, and he even expressed some regret that he had not suddenly and entirely trusted himself to his fidelity. The conversation continued for some time in this tone; both parties were filled with anxiety, both acted with craft, and both were almost equally afraid either to break off the negotiation, or to commit themselves. At length, Hammond appeared to yield. "I believe," he said, "that his Majesty relies on me

as a person of honour and honesty, and, therefore, I do engage myself to perform whatever can be expected from such a person: let us go to the King, and acquaint him with it." Berkley was still doubtful, and wished to reject this proposal, but Ashburnham accepted it, and they went off together. Hammond was accompanied by only one of his captains, named Basket. In a few hours, they reached Titchfield, and on their arrival, Ashburnham went alone to the King, leaving Berkley, Hammond and Basket in the courtyard. On hearing his story, Charles exclaimed, "What! have you brought Hammond with you? Oh, Jack! thou hast undone me, for I am, by this means, made fast from stirring." In vain did Ashburnham urge that Hammond had promised fidelity, dwell upon the good feeling he had displayed, and even adduce his hesitation as a proof of his sincerity. The King, in despair, strode hurriedly up and down the room, sometimes with folded arms, sometimes raising his hands and eyes to heaven, with an expression of the utmost anguish. Ashburnham burst into tears, and offered to go down and kill Hammond. "No," replied the King, "it would be said that he ventured his life for me, and that I unworthily took it from him. It is too late now to think of anything but going through the way you have forced me upon; and we must leave the issue to God." Meanwhile, Hammond and Basket were growing impatient; Berkley sent word to the King, and they were requested to go to him. Charles received them with an open and trustful air. Hammond renewed his



promises to a greater extent than before, though he still spoke vaguely and with embarrassment. Night was beginning to fall when they embarked for the island. A report had already spread that the King was coming, and many of the inhabitants went out to meet him; as he passed through the streets of Newport, a young woman advanced towards him, and presented him with a red rose in full blow, notwithstanding the severity of the season, and accompanied the gift with a prayer for his Majesty's deliverance. Charles was assured that the whole population were devoted to him; that Carisbrooke Castle was garrisoned by only twelve soldiers; and that, if he pleased, he would always be able easily to escape. His fears gradually diminished; and on the following morning, when, from the windows of the castle, he contemplated the smiling aspect of both land and sea, when he breathed the fresh air of the morning, when he found himself treated by Hammond with every demonstration of respect, and enjoyed full liberty to ride about the island, to retain his servants, and to receive whatever visitors he pleased, a feeling of security once more entered his mind; and he told Ashburnham that, after all, the governor was an honest man, that he was, at all events, out of the reach of the agitators, and that he believed he would have no reason to regret having come thither.¹

¹ Berkley's *Memoirs*, p. 57; Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 38; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 94; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 491.

BOOK VIII.

THE RENDEZVOUS AT WARE—CROMWELL SUPPRESSES THE AGITATORS, AND AFTERWARDS RECONCILES HIMSELF WITH THEM—PARLIAMENT SENDS TO THE KING, IN FOUR BILLS, THE PRELIMINARY CONDITIONS OF PEACE—THE KING REJECTS THEM, AND SECRETLY TREATS WITH THE SCOTS—THE PARLIAMENT DETERMINES TO DISCONTINUE NEGOCIATIONS WITH THE KING—GENERAL DISCONTENT AND REACTION IN FAVOUR OF THE KING—EMBARRASSMENT OF CROMWELL AND THE INDEPENDENTS—BREAKING OUT OF THE SECOND CIVIL WAR—CAMPAIGN UNDER FAIRFAX IN THE EAST AND AROUND LONDON, UNDER CROMWELL IN THE WEST, UNDER LAMBERT IN THE NORTH—SIEGE OF COLCHESTER—THE SCOTS ENTER ENGLAND—CROMWELL MARCHES AGAINST THEM—BATTLES OF PRESTON, WIGAN, AND WARRINGTON—CROMWELL IN SCOTLAND—THE PRESBYTERIANS REGAIN THE ASCENDANCY IN LONDON—PARLIAMENT RESUMES NEGOCIATIONS WITH THE KING—NEGOCIATIONS AT NEWPORT—CHANGES IN THE CONDITION OF PARTIES—THE ARMY REMOVES THE KING FROM THE ISLE OF WIGHT—HE IS TAKEN TO HURST CASTLE, THEN TO WINDSOR—LAST EFFORTS OF THE PRESBYTERIANS ON HIS BEHALF—THE ARMY MARCHES TOWARDS LONDON—PURGING OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—TRIAL AND DEATH OF THE KING—ABOLITION OF KINGSHIP.

THE Parliamentary Commissioners and the officers of the garrison at Hampton Court waited until the King appeared at supper, at the usual hour. Surprised at not seeing him, they at last entered his room, and only found there three letters addressed, one to Lord Montague, President of the Committee, another to Colonel Whalley, and a third to the Speaker of the House of Lords. In this last, the

King gave as the reason of his flight the plots of the agitators, and his right to live in freedom and security like any other citizen. The two other letters were merely written in order to express to Montague and Whalley his appreciation of their attentions, and to give directions with regard to the disposal of his horses, his dogs, his pictures, and the small articles of furniture that he had left in his apartments. Not the slightest indication, however, was given of his route, nor of the place of his retreat.¹

Great consternation was caused at Westminster on the arrival of this intelligence from Hampton Court, and still more by a letter which, at the same time, arrived from head-quarters at Windsor, written at midnight, by Cromwell, who also hastened to convey the information.² He had, therefore, been the first to know it, before the House, perhaps before the King's departure; for a report had spread that the strict surveillance of the garrison at Hampton Court had been relaxed on the day of his flight, and even that the sentinels had been withdrawn from the posts which they had been accustomed to guard.³ Letters from Hammond followed soon after,⁴ who informed the House of the King's arrival, protested his devotion to their service, and requested directions from them. All fears were not, however, dissipated. Cromwell also had received letters from Hammond, as if all the

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 786.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 871; Carlyle, Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. i. p. 314.

³ Ludlew's Memoirs, p. 94.

⁴ November 13th, 1647.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 789.

servants of the Parliament felt themselves bound to give him information, and to consult him on every occasion ; all which he reported to the House with a gaiety which astonished even those who were least suspicious,¹ for it seemed an alarming symptom of some success, or some expectation, the nature of which they in vain attempted to discover.

Scarcely two days had elapsed before he filled his enemies with new and still greater alarm. On the 15th of November, the first of the three meetings appointed for the army, in order to put an end to its dissensions, was to take place at Ware, in Hertfordshire. Cromwell proceeded thither with Fairfax, and surrounded by those officers on whom he could best rely. Only seven regiments had been summoned that day—those which had shown the least excitement, and among which there seemed the greatest probability that discipline might be re-established. It was supposed that their submission would intimidate, or their example calm, the more passionate. But on their arrival on the common at Ware, the generals found nine regiments instead of seven ; Harrison's troop of horse, and Robert Lilburne's regiment of infantry, had come without orders, and in a state of the most violent excitement. The latter had expelled all its officers above the rank of lieutenant, except Captain Bray, who was in command of them. The soldiers all wore in their hats a copy of "The Agreement of the People," with the inscription, "England's freedom ! Soldiers' rights !" From time to time, as if seized by a common impulse,

¹ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 503.

their shouts re-echoed across the plain ; Rainsborough, Ewers, Scott, and John Lilburne himself, who had recently been allowed by the Commons to leave the Tower every morning for the benefit of his health, galloped about, going from troop to troop, encouraging the most animated, reproaching the moderate with cowardice, and repeating everywhere that, as the sword was in their hands, they were in conscience bound so to use it as fully and finally to secure liberty for their country. In the midst of this tumult Fairfax, Cromwell and their staff, advanced towards the quieter regiments ; and there read to them, in the name of the general council of officers, a calm and firm remonstrance, reproaching the new agitators with their seditious intrigues, and the dangers which they caused to the army, reminding them of the proofs of affection and fidelity which their chiefs had given to them, and the success that they had obtained under their command ; and promising moreover to support in Parliament the just demands of the soldiers, both for themselves and for their country, if they on their part would sign an engagement to submit to the laws of discipline, and to respect henceforward the orders of their officers. Seven regiments received this address with joyous acclamations. Fairfax then turned towards Harrison's regiment. The troopers no sooner heard his voice and his promises than they tore away from their hats "The Agreement of the People," exclaiming that they had been deceived, and that they wished to live and die with their general. Lilburne's regiment only remained rebellious and violently agi-

tated ; it had already begun to answer Fairfax's words by seditious cries, when Cromwell advanced. "Take that paper from your hats," said he to the soldiers ; the soldiers refused ; he strode unceremoniously into their ranks, pointed out forty of the most mutinous, and had them arrested ; a court-martial was held on the spot, and three soldiers were condemned to death. The council ordered that one should be selected by lot, and that he should be shot immediately. The lot fell on Richard Arnell, a vehement agitator, who was accordingly shot at once before the regiment ; the two others who had been condemned, were removed with their eleven companions. Major Scott and Captain Bray were also arrested ; profound silence prevailed over the common ; all the divisions returned to their quarters ; the two other meetings were held without the least murmur, and the entire army seemed once more under the control of its chiefs.¹

But Cromwell did not allow himself to be deceived respecting the uncertainty, and even the danger of such a triumph. When he announced it to the Commons,² while the majority, delighted at the defeat of the agitators, voted him their thanks, the Presbyterian leaders did not disguise their coldness, nor the Republicans their anger. Every success of Cromwell was a matter of suspicion to the former, whatever might be its apparent result, while the latter regarded his conduct

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. i. p. 875 ; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 791 ; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. v. p. 505 ; Mazere's Select Tracts, vol. i. p. 33 ; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. i. pp. 462—468.

² November 19, 1647.—Whitelocke, p. 279.

at Ware as a new proof of his treachery. In the House, Ludlow opposed the vote of thanks;¹ the preacher Saltmarsh came up from the country, as he said, by an express command from God, in order to declare to the Generals that the Lord had forsaken them, since they had imprisoned his saints;² and, indeed, as soon as they had recovered from their momentary stupor, a crowd of subaltern and non-commissioned officers and soldiers, including nearly all the revolutionary agents of the regiments, declared to Cromwell and Ireton that no rigour or obstacle should induce them to abandon their designs; that they were resolved to rid themselves of the King, and to establish a republic; that at the risk of losing all, they would divide the army, two-thirds at least of which would follow them, and prosecute their enterprise alone, rather than allow themselves to be put down. Cromwell had no intention of reducing them to this extremity; he had merely desired, by a signal example, to cut short the progress of anarchy in the army; but he knew the power of the fanatics, and even now thought only of reconciliation with them. Without pronouncing definitely in favour of a republic, he spoke ill of the King to all those who visited him, acknowledged that they were right in expecting nothing further from him, confessed that the glories of the world had dazzled even himself for a moment, that he had failed to discern clearly the work of the Lord, and to confide solely in His saints; and humbled himself before them, and entreated the assistance of their prayers that he might obtain pardon from heaven. Among others, Hugh Peters, an in-

¹ Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 96.

² Whitelocke, p. 285.

triguing and loquacious enthusiast, took upon himself to circulate widely his professions and avowals. Even to the soldiers in prison, he sent comforting assurances. Only Cromwell insisted, and that in the most decisive tone, on the necessity of maintaining union and discipline in the army, as the sole means of success, and even of safety.¹ Many believed his words, which were always impassioned and energetic; others who were less blind, felt how great need they had of his genius, and even while doubting the sincerity of his repentance, could not persuade themselves to reject it. Moreover, most of them acknowledged that the agitators had acted too hastily, and gone too far, and that the soldiers owed to their officers more submission and respect. Rainsborough, Scott, and Ewers confessed that they had been to blame, and promised to act with greater prudence for the future. A grand gathering at last took place at head-quarters;² officers, agitators, and preachers passed ten hours together in conversation and prayer; common interests prevailed over individual rancour and mistrust, without entirely destroying them: it was decided that the prisoners should be set at liberty, that Captain Bray should return to his regiment, and that the House should be entreated to restore to Rainsborough the office of vice-admiral, of which he had been deprived;³ and a solemn banquet was held to celebrate this reconciliation, which was purchased by the ruin of the King.⁴

¹ Berkley's Memoirs, p. 73—75.

² December 22, 1647.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 943; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 44; Whitelocke, p. 285.

⁴ January 2, 1648.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 959.

In the meanwhile¹ there arrived at head-quarters Sir John Berkley, whom Charles, on learning the issue of the meeting at Ware, had sent with all speed to the Generals, in order to congratulate them on their victory, and to remind them of their promises. Berkley, though he conveyed letters not only from the King, but also from Hammond, for Fairfax, Ireton, and Cromwell, was nevertheless not without some anxiety. He had met Cornet Joyce on his way, who had expressed astonishment at his confidence, and had told him that the agitators, so far from entertaining any apprehensions, had drawn over the Generals to their views, and were preparing to bring the King to trial. On his arrival at Windsor, the council of officers was assembled; he presented himself before them, and delivered his letters to the General. He was ordered to withdraw immediately. In about half an hour he was recalled. "The General," says Berkley, "looked very severely upon me, and, after his manner, said that they were the Parliament's army, and, therefore, could not say anything to his Majesty's motion of peace, but must refer those matters to them, to whom they would send his Majesty's letters." Berkley looked towards Cromwell and Ireton; they saluted him very coldly, and with a smile of contempt. He withdrew quite amazed; the day passed without his being able to obtain any explanation, or to learn anything more; at length, towards evening, Commandant Watson, one of the officers with whom he had previously been on the most intimate terms, sent word to

¹ Towards the end of the month of November.

him to be at midnight in a close behind the Garter Inn, where he would meet him. Berkley then learned what had passed, and what kind of spirit animated the army. "You know," said Watson, "that since the tumults of the army, we did mistrust Cromwell, and not long after Ireton, whereof I informed you. I come now to tell you that we mistrust neither, but know them and all of us to be the archest villains in the world; for we are resolved, notwithstanding our engagements, to destroy the King and his posterity; to which end Ireton made two propositions this afternoon, one that you should be sent prisoner to London, the other that none should speak with you upon pain of death; and I do hazard my life now by doing of it. And, therefore, if the King can escape, let him do it as he loves his life." Berkley then asked him whether he should not endeavour to deliver his letters from the King to Cromwell and Ireton; he replied, "By all means, lest they should mistrust you had discovered them."¹

As Watson had foreseen, Berkley obtained from the two Generals neither interview nor reply. Cromwell sent him his assurance "that he would serve his Majesty so long as he could do it without his own ruin, but desired him not to expect that he should perish for the King's sake." Sir John hastened to communicate these sad tidings to the King, and conjured him to escape without a moment's delay. Charles, perhaps, might have succeeded in so doing; a ship sent by the Queen had been cruising for several

¹ Berkley's Memoirs, pp. 69—75.

days, it was said, about the island.¹ But a new intrigue had rekindled his hopes: after a warm debate in the House of Commons, it had been voted² that four propositions should be presented to the King in the form of bills; and that, if he accepted them, he should be admitted, as he had several times demanded, to treat personally with the Parliament. The propositions were: 1. That the command of the sea and land forces should belong for twenty years to the Parliament, with power to retain it even longer if the safety of the kingdom should seem to them to demand it. 2. That the King should revoke all his declarations, proclamations, and other acts published against the House, charging it with being an illegal and rebellious assembly. 3. That he should annul all the patents of peerage granted since his departure from London. 4. Lastly, that the Houses should be empowered to adjourn when and where they should think fit. Charles, notwithstanding his distress, had no intention of giving his assent to these bills, and thus recognising the legitimacy of the war which had brought all his misfortunes upon him; for he knew that the Scottish Commissioners had vigorously opposed them—that they had even shown bitter resentment of the scorn with which the Houses had treated their remonstrances.³ At the same time that he had re-

¹ Berkley's Memoirs, p. 76.

² December 14, 1647. The motion took place in the House of Lords on the 26th of November, and the Commons adopted it on the 27th, by a majority of 115 against 106.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 803, 804, 823, 824.

³ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 825, 826.

ceived Berkley's letter, he had received from them secret encouragement to reject propositions of such an offensive character, and a promise that they would themselves come to him in the Isle of Wight, and treat with him, in the name of Scotland, on far more palatable conditions. The King told Berkley that, instead of escaping, he thought it best "to conclude with the Scots before he left the kingdom, because from their desire to have him out of the army's hands they would take reason; whereas, if he went before, they would never treat with him but upon their own terms."¹

Lords Lauderdale, Loudoun, and Lanark did, in fact, arrive at Carisbrooke Castle almost at the same time with Lord Denbigh and his five colleagues, the Commissioners from Westminster.² The negotiations already entered upon at Hampton Court were accordingly renewed between them and the King, with great mystery, for they had only come, they said, in order to enter their protest in his presence against the propositions of the Parliament. In two days, the treaty was concluded, drawn up, signed,³ and concealed in a garden in the island, until they could convey it away without danger. It promised the King the assistance of a Scottish army to reinstate him in his just rights, on condition that he should confirm the Presbyterian system in England for three years, although conformity to it would not be required of himself and his friends; and that, at the expiration of

¹ Berkley's Memoirs, p. 79, 80.

² December 23, 1647.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 824, 827; Bowring, p. 87.

³ December 26, 1647.

that term, having consulted with the Assembly of Divines, he should finally settle, in concert with the two Houses of Parliament, the constitution of the Church. Several stipulations to the advantage of Scotland, which would have been very offensive to English honour, accompanied this general concession. It was further agreed that the Cavaliers in all parts of the kingdom should take up arms in conjunction with the Scottish army; that Ormonde should at once resume the command of the Royalist party in Ireland; and, lastly, that the King, as soon as he had rejected the four propositions, should escape from the island, and proceed to Berwick or some other place on the borders of Scotland, and wait in liberty till the moment of action arrived.¹

All being thus arranged, Charles sent word to the Parliamentary Commissioners that his reply was ready for them.² He had resolved to give it to them in a sealed paper, as he had done three years previously, after the negotiations at Oxford, fearing that, if they were aware of his refusal, and perhaps even of his projects, they might take measures against him that would entirely defeat his plans. But Lord Denbigh obstinately refused to receive the King's message in this form, saying, "that though they had no authority to treat with him, or to do anything but to receive his answer, yet they were not to be looked upon as common messengers, and to carry back an answer that they had not seen; and that they would return

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 529; Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, p. 325.

² On the 27th of December.

without any, except they might see what they carried." The King was obliged to yield, and to read his message aloud. Charles rejected absolutely the four propositions, and demanded permission to treat in person without being pledged to accept any preliminary conditions. The Commissioners retired, held a short conference with Hammond, and returned to Westminster. A few hours after their departure, while the King was conversing with Berkley and Ashburnham about the means of escape which had been prepared for the following night, the gates of the castle were closed, all strangers were forbidden to enter, guards were everywhere doubled, and almost all the King's servants, Ashburnham and Berkley among the first, were ordered to quit the island immediately.¹

Charles was filled with anger and grief. He sent for Hammond. "Why do you use me thus?" said the King. "Where are your orders for it? Was it the Spirit that moved you to it?" Hammond, who had received no orders from the Parliament, but probably some advice from the Commissioners, said nothing at first, but afterwards referred to his Majesty's answer. King: "Did you not engage your honour you would take no advantage from thence against me?" Hammond: "I said nothing." King: "You are an equivocating gentleman. Will you allow me my chaplain? You pretend for liberty of conscience; shall I have none?" Hammond: "I cannot allow you any chaplain." King: "You use me neither like a gentleman nor a Christian."

¹ Berkley's *Memoirs*, pp. 89, 90.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 828—830; Bowring, p. 92; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 509.

Hammond : " I'll speak with you when you are in better temper." King : " I have slept well to-night." Hammond : " I have used you very civilly." King : " Why do you not so now then ?" Hammond : " Sir, you are too high." King : " My shoemaker's fault then ; my shoes are of the same last as before." Twice or thrice he repeated this, adding, " Shall I have liberty to go about to take the air ?" Hammond : " No, I cannot grant it." His Majesty then charged him with his allegiance, and told him he must answer this. Hammond burst into tears, but made no change in his arrangements.¹

Meantime the Parliamentary Commissioners arrived at Westminster. Hardly had they given their report of their journey and its results, when a member, previously unknown, Sir Thomas Wroth, rose in the House of Commons,² and said : " Bedlam was appointed for madmen and Tophet for kings ;³ our kings of late

¹ Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. Appendix, p. xliv. ; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 959, 960 ; Whitlocke, p. 287.

² January 3, 1648.

³ That is to say, " Hell." Tophet is a Hebrew word which signifies, generally, an abominable thing, worthy of execration (from a root signifying " to spit out with disgust "). As a proper name, it designates a place in the Valley of Ben Hinnom, the Valley of the Sons of Lamentation, where sacrifices had for a long time been offered to Moloch, where the statues of the false gods were cast when their altars were destroyed on the heights of Jerusalem, which was in after-time a kind of sewer to receive the filth of the city, and where the bodies of executed criminals were burnt. Thus the prophet Isaiah, threatening entire ruin to Sennacherib and his army, says (chap. xxx. verse 33), " Tophet is ordained of old ; yea it is prepared for the king." Some ancient divines, however, among others Saint Jerome and the Chaldean paraphrast, understood by Tophet simply " Hell," " Gehenna ;" and, following them, Calvin and the reformed theologians of his school have not assigned to the word any other meaning. This sense is assumed in the English version of the Bible, and by Milton, in his " Paradise Lost " (book i.

have carried themselves as if they were fit for no place but Bedlam ; and my humble motion shall consist of three parts : 1. To secure the King, and keep him close in some inland castle with sure guards. 2. To draw up articles of impeachment against him. 3. To lay him by, and settle the kingdom without him. I care not what form of government you set up, so it be not by kings and devils." Then Commissary Ireton rose and said : "The King had denied safety and protection to his people by denying the four bills ; that subjection to him was but in lieu of his protection of his people : this being denied, they might well deny any more subjection to him, and settle the kingdom without him." Astonished at such a fierce attack, and themselves irritated at the refusal of the King, the Presbyterians appeared to be for an instant embarrassed and intimidated. Many voices, however, were raised against the measure. John Maynard told the Parliament, " that by this resolution of making no more addresses to the King, they did, as far as in them lay, dissolve the Parliament . . . that his Majesty's refusal at any time to receive their petitions, or to admit their addresses, had always been held the highest breach of their privilege, because it tended to their dissolution without dissolving them ; and, therefore, if they should now, on their parts, determine that they

lines 392, 493—495), and the writers of his time. Sir Thomas Wroth, too, thus understood the word, quoting the passage from Isaiah, which at the time, as indeed every text in the sacred volume, was present to the memory of his hearers. I owe this criticism to the erudition and friendliness of one of the most enlightened Protestant theologians of the day, M. Stapfer.

would receive no more messages from him (which was likewise a part of their declaration), nor make any more address to him, they did, upon the matter, declare that they were no longer a Parliament; and then how could the people look upon them as such?" The debate became warm and protracted; the Presbyterians regained confidence; the House, which had been at first little enough disposed to favour them, seemed wavering. Then Cromwell rose. He said "that the King was a man of great parts and great understanding; but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted. That while he professed, with all solemnity, that he referred himself wholly to the Parliament, and depended only upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had, at the same time, secret treaties with the Scottish Commissioners how he might embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the Parliament. That it was now expected the Parliament should govern and defend the kingdom by their own power and resolution, and not teach the people any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened; that those men, who had defended the Parliament from so many dangers with the expense of their blood, would defend them herein with fidelity and courage against all opposition. Teach them not," he added, "by neglecting your own and the kingdom's safety, in which their own is involved, to think themselves betrayed, and left hereafter to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy whom they have subdued for

your sake, and, therefore, are likely to find his future government of them insupportable, and fuller of revenge than justice; lest despair teach them to seek their own safety by some other means than adhering to you, who will not stick to yourselves. And how destructive such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge." And he laid his hand on his sword as he resumed his seat. No one ventured upon a reply; the motion was immediately passed,¹ and transmitted the next day to the Upper House.² For a moment the Lords appeared to hesitate; the debate lingered on;³ two declarations came from the army,⁴ one addressed to the Commons, full of congratulations and of threats against their enemies; the other to the Lords, in mild and conciliatory terms, contradicting the reports that were circulating with respect to the dangers of the peerage, and promising to support it in all its rights. Those who were timid might, as they pleased, feel reassured or still further alarmed; the discussion ceased to drag on heavily, and when the vote was given,⁵ only Lords Warwick and Manchester protested against its adoption.⁶

On the other hand, a vigorous and formidable protest was raised throughout the kingdom. "Here then is the justification of our accusations and predictions,"

¹ By a majority of 141 against 92.

² January 4, 1648.

³ It was adjourned first from the 4th to the 8th of January, then from the 8th to the 13th.

⁴ January 11. They are dated on the 9th.

⁵ January 15th, 1648.

⁶ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 830—837; *Clement Walker's History of Independency*, pp. 69—71; *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 514-518.

exclaimed the Cavaliers, "which have been so often treated as chimerical or calumnious." And everywhere, numerous voices, but lately wavering, joined with them in cursing this detestable act of treason. Before the King had been able to give any reply to the declaration of the Houses, several answers appeared, which had emanated from the spontaneous zeal of private citizens.¹ Never had so many rumours of Royalist plots, never had so many violent pamphlets, besieged Westminster.² In the Isle of Wight even, one Captain Burly, a retired naval officer, had a drum beaten suddenly in the streets of Newport, and collecting a band of workpeople, children and women, marched at their head in order to release the King from prison. The attempt was instantly crushed, and Burly was hanged for the crime of having intended to make war on the King as represented by his Parliament.³ But the same feelings and desires disturbed the counties which had hitherto been most adverse to the royal cause. Some disbanded soldiers from Essex's army proceeded tumultuously to the very doors of the House of Commons, shouting "God save the King!" and stopping the coaches in order to compel all who passed to join with them in drinking his health.⁴ The Republicans were mortified at finding themselves thus disturbed in their

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 518.

² Rushworth, part iv. pp. 929, 974, 1002. Especially two pamphlets, entitled "The Parliament's Ten Commandments," and "The New Testament of our Lords and Saviours the House of Commons, sitting at Westminster," excited great agitation.

³ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 510; Berkley's *Memoirs*, pp. 91, 92.

⁴ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 804.

moment of triumph. In vain did they obtain from some counties addresses of congratulation;¹ in vain did the Commons proclaim their intention to reform the civil laws, and to render the administration of justice less costly; in vain even did they suspend their own privileges in the matter of prosecutions and of debts.² These important improvements were eagerly desired and appreciated only by their own party, or by some few men of superior mind: many of them shocked the prejudices of the people, others escaped notice on account of the popular ignorance: the interested intention which seemed to pervade all these measures, entirely destroyed their effect. Tyranny had, therefore, to be substituted for popularity. The prosecutions which had been already commenced against those members of the two Houses, and those City magistrates who were presumed to be the originators or abettors of recent Presbyterian or Royalist outbreaks, were actively continued.³ All who had borne arms against the Parliament received orders to quit London, and were forbidden to reside within twenty miles of its walls;⁴ a general revision of the list of justices of the peace throughout the kingdom was ordered, in order to remove those whose sentiments were suspected;⁵ it was enacted that no delinquent—no man who had been accused or convicted of having taken part in any

¹ Rushworth, part iii. vol. iii. p. 973.

² January 4, 1648.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 830. Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 985.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 922. Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 838—842.

⁴ December 17, 1647.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 933.

⁵ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 933.

plot against the Parliament—should be eligible to the office of Lord Mayor, or Alderman, or member of the Common Council of the City of London, and even that such persons should be incapacitated from taking any part in the election of those officers;¹ and the same disqualification was soon extended to the functions of jurymen, and to the election of members of Parliament.² The committee appointed to restrain the license of the press had orders to hold its sittings every day, and a sum of money was placed at its disposal to reward any person who should give such information as should lead to the seizure of the presses of malignants.³ Finally, the army once more marched through London, in a grand military procession, and three thousand men were detached from it, and quartered in the metropolis, at Whitehall, and at the Tower.⁴

The fanatics, the men of narrow minds and stern tempers, the populace of the party, spoke vauntingly of these measures, as a striking proof of their strength; and they accordingly redoubled their ardour. Cromwell alone, although he concurred in what had been done, was uneasy, not from any scruple, or because he hesitated to take any measures that promised success, but, in spite of his resolution to crush the King, the hopes and pretensions of the republicans and enthusiasts appeared to him to be insane. He saw that throughout

¹ December 17.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 934.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1252.

³ January 6, 1648.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 957.

⁴ Journals of the House of Commons, January 27, 1648. Clement Walker's History of Independency, p. 79.

the counties the principal freeholders, the wealthy citizens, and almost all persons of note were retiring from public affairs, abandoning committees of management and local magistracies: and that the chief power was passing into the hands of men of an inferior order, who were ready enough to seize it, and able to use it vigorously, but quite unqualified to retain it.¹ He could not believe that England would long consent to be so governed, or that anything lasting could be founded on the legal oppression of so many influential citizens, or that the discord and anarchy, which were constantly increasing both in the Parliament and throughout the empire, could fail to have a fatal issue, even to the conquerors. His unwearied imagination busied itself in the search for some means of putting an end to this dim and uncertain chaos, or at least of discovering the speediest and safest road which it afforded to greatness. One day he invited the principal Independents and Presbyterians, both laymen and ecclesiastics, to dine at his house, and passionately urged upon them the necessity of reconciliation among themselves, or at least of postponing their quarrels, in order to combine in fronting the new dangers which it was easy to foresee were coming upon them. But the Presbyterians were too unyielding in their dispositions, and too exclusive in their theological pretensions, to lend themselves to any such combinations. The conference produced no result. Cromwell arranged another conference among certain political

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. pp. 544-549; Hollis's *Memoirs*, p. 4; *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, *passim*.

leaders, most of them General officers like himself, and the Republicans. It was absolutely necessary, he said, that they should unite in seeking what kind of government was most suited for England, since it had now fallen to them to determine it; but his real and dominant wish was to learn who among them were intractable, and what he had to expect or fear from them. Ludlow, Hutchinson, Sidney, and Haslerig, declared themselves openly, rejecting all idea of a monarchy as condemned by the Bible, by reason, and by experience. The Generals were more reserved: in their view, a republic was a desirable thing, but the success of it was doubtful; it would be better for them not to commit themselves, but to consult the state of affairs and the necessities of the times, and to follow the leadings of Providence from day to day. The Republicans insisted on an unreserved declaration of their policy. The discussion grew warm: Ludlow, among others, earnestly pressed Cromwell to avow his intentions, for they wished, he said, to know who were their friends. Cromwell attempted by banter and evasion to dispose of their questions; but at last, finding himself hard pressed, he relieved himself from his embarrassment by a jest,—he went to the door, and as he left the room abruptly, threw a cushion at Ludlow's head, who immediately returned the compliment.¹

But danger was advancing; the number and boldness of the malcontents increased every day; not only in the west and north, but in the neighbourhood of

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 103.

London, in the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, and Kent, sometimes at the table of some rich gentleman, at other times at the assizes or in market-places, wherever the Cavaliers could act in concert or mix with the people, royalist petitions, plots, and insurrections were concocted and openly displayed. At Canterbury, on Christmas-day, as the Mayor was endeavouring to enforce the decree suppressing that festival, a violent tumult arose, amid shouts of "God! King Charles! and the County of Kent!" The arsenal of the city was broken into, the houses of several Parliamentarians were attacked, the municipal officers were roughly handled, and had it not been for the prompt arrival of some troops, the peasants of the neighbourhood, who were beginning to take part in the outbreak, would have rendered the disturbance even more serious and protracted.¹ At London, on Sunday the 9th of April, 1648, during the hour of divine service, some apprentices were playing at bowls in Moorfields; a body of militia ordered them to disperse; they resisted and repulsed the militia; and when overmastered in their turn by a detachment of cavalry, they spread through the City, calling to their aid their comrades and the Thames watermen. Numerous bands were formed in all quarters; they met during the night, surprised and took two of the City gates, threw chains across the streets, and with beating of drums and cries of "God and King Charles!" they attacked the

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 948; Whitelocke, p. 285; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 25.

Mansion-house, took possession of a piece of cannon, and by daybreak seemed masters of the City. A council of war had sat all night: they hesitated about attacking the insurgents, doubting whether the two regiments then quartered in London would be sufficient, and whether it would not be necessary to send for reinforcements. Fairfax and Cromwell decided upon an immediate attack, and their success was unequivocal—at the end of two hours nothing was to be heard in the streets but the regular step of the troops as they returned to their quarters.¹ But the people, though they had fled, were not vanquished; every day some unexpected occurrence served to intensify their anger or revive their courage; the Presbyterian members and the aldermen of the City, when brought by the Commons before the Upper House, obstinately refused to recognize its jurisdiction, to kneel at its bar, or even to take off their hats and listen to the reading of the charges brought against them; and whenever they appeared at Westminster, the crowd, as they left the House, cheered them enthusiastically.² Public meetings were forbidden; the Committees of Management in each county were empowered to arrest and imprison every malcontent, every man even on whom suspicion rested.³ But the agitation grew even more vigorously than the tyranny: at Norwich, at Bury St. Edmunds,

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1051; Whitelocke, p. 299; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 875.

² *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 844, 874, 877, 880, 881.

³ April 18, 1648.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1062; Whitelocke, p. 301.

at Thetford, at Stowmarket, and at a multitude of other places, the drums were beaten on the smallest pretext, the inhabitants armed themselves, and the troops did not always find that a threatening attitude alone was sufficient to quell the disturbance.¹ Soon, also, they had something more to fear than mere riots of citizens. In Pembrokeshire, South Wales, towards the end of February, 1648, Colonels Poyer and Powell, and Major-General Langhorn, officers of distinction, who had earned renown in the Parliamentary army, withdrew from it,² hoisted the royal standard, and, sustained by a rising of the Cavaliers in the neighbourhood, reduced the whole country beneath their power in a few days. Almost at the same moment, the Scottish Parliament assembled.³ Hamilton and the Royalists, under cover of an alliance with the moderate Presbyterians, had prevailed in the elections. In vain did Argyle and the most active among the clergy attempt to hamper their proceedings; in vain did the Commissioners who had been sent from London circulate both money and threats throughout Edinburgh; the Parliament, though cautious and even humble in its language to the fanatics, was at heart attached to the cause of the King, and immediately voted the formation of a Committee of Danger,⁴ invested with the executive power, and

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1071, 1119; Whitelocke, p. 302; Journals of the House of Lords, May 19th; Journals of the House of Commons, June 12th.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1016, 1017, 1033, 1034, 1036; Whitelocke, p. 294; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. pp. 41, 42; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 106.

³ March 2, 1648.

⁴ May 3, 1648.

the raising of an army of forty thousand men for the defence of the Covenant and Royalty against the Republicans and Sectaries.¹ The Cavaliers of the north of England were waiting only for this signal to rise. For more than a month their principal chiefs, Langdale, Glenham, and Musgrave, had been living at Edinburgh, sometimes openly, sometimes in concealment, concerting with Hamilton their plan of insurrection.² In Ireland also, Lord Inchiquin, the Lord-Lieutenant of the province of Munster, and hitherto the most trusted supporter of the Parliament against the insurgents, enrolled himself under the King's banners.³ Finally, when all these reports reached London, the Presbyterian party, both in Parliament and in the City, once more raised their heads. A man named John Everard came to the Common Council on the 23rd of April, 1648, and declared to them, upon his oath, that two nights before, when he was in bed at the Garter inn, at Windsor, he had overheard in the adjoining room several officers, among others, Quarter-Master-General Grosvenor and Colonel Ewers, mutually pledge one another that, as soon as the Scots set foot in the kingdom, the army should enter the City, disarm all the citizens, exact from them a million sterling on pain of pillage, and moreover send, at the expense of the City, all well-disposed persons to take their places

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. pp. 8—12; Baillie's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 281; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1040, 1047; Malcolm Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 394—400.

² Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. pp. 12—14.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1060, 1063; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 108; Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii. p. 23; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 525.

in the regiments. According to Everard, Ireton was aware of this design.¹ A petition was immediately drawn up, and transmitted to both Houses of Parliament, on the 27th of April. In it the Common Council demanded that the City should again be put in possession of its chains, of which they had been deprived after the suppression of the last riot, that the army should remove its head-quarters to a greater distance, and that all the forces in London and its suburbs should be placed under the command of Skippon. These demands were instantly complied with, and on the next day, the 28th of April, after a debate of which no record remains, the Commons voted:—1. That they would make no essential alteration in the government of the kingdom by King, Lords, and Commons: 2. That the proposals made to the King at Hampton Court should form the basis of the measures which it was indispensable to adopt in order to re-establish public tranquillity: 3. That, notwithstanding the vote of the 3rd of January, which forbade all addresses to the King, every member should be at liberty to propose whatever might seem to him to be required by the true interests of the country.²

For three weeks Cromwell had foreseen, and attempted to prevent, this reverse; in the name of the leaders of the army and of the Independent party, he had made an offer to the Common Council, on the 8th of April, 1648, to restore to the City the command of its militia and of the Tower, and to set at liberty the accused aldermen, provided it would engage to do

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 881.

² *Ibid.* cols. 882, 883.

nothing to assist the Scots in their approaching invasion; but his offers had been rejected.¹ Thus constrained to renounce all hope of reconciliation, when he saw the Presbyterians regain their courage in the City and their influence in the Parliament, he was seized with a passionate desire to risk a decisive blow. He repaired to head-quarters, called together the council of officers, and proposed that the army should march on London, expel all its adversaries from the Parliament, and take full possession of the government, in the name of honest men and the public welfare. For a time the proposal was adopted; but so uncere- monious an attack upon the rights of a Parliament that had been so long the idol and ruler of the country, presently startled even the most audacious. They hesitated. Fairfax, who was beginning to feel uneasy at what he had been doing, took advantage of this hesitation, and opposed the wishes of the Lieutenant-general, who was for giving orders immediately; and the project was accordingly abandoned.² Annoyed at this double disappointment, suspected by one class on account of his attempts at accommodation, and by another because of the rashness of his designs, unable longer to endure this state of inactivity and perplexity, Cromwell suddenly resolved to leave London, to go and fight the insurgents in the west, and to regain by war the ascendancy that seemed now to be on the wane. He had little difficulty in obtaining this commission from the Parliament. While the troops that

¹ Clement Walker's *History of Independency*, pp. 82, 83.

² Fairfax's *Memoirs*, p. 110.

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¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 881.

² Ibid. cols. 882, 883.

AND THE ENGLISH

nothing to assist the Scots in their mission; but his offers were so strained to renounce all his property that he saw the Presbyterians of the City and their influence were seized with a passionate desire. He repaired to the council of officers, and proposed to march on London, and take the Parliament, and take the king in the name of honest men. For a time the proposal was monious an attack upon that which had been so long the present standard of the nation. Fairfax hesitated. At what he had seen of hesitation, and of the general, who was for the project was against it. This double discomfiture on account of his attempt, another because he was no longer to endure the Cromwell's sword, and fight the war the merit of which wane. He and his mission from the

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he was to lead were making preparations for their departure, he one day complained to Ludlow of his position, reviewed all he had done for the common cause, enumerated the dangers and odium he had braved, and exclaimed bitterly against the ingratitude of his party. Ludlow listened to his complaints, reminded him in reply of the inducements and occasions which he had given for mistrust, urged him to abandon all further intrigues and ambitious designs, promised him, on this condition, the sincere support of the Republicans, and left him, delighted with the patient attention with which his admonitions had been received.¹ A few days after, Cromwell, at the head of five regiments, set out for Wales, and almost at the gates of the City, according to previous arrangement, some Presbyterian ministers had an interview with him, from which they retired not less satisfied.²

He had no sooner gone, than the war which he went to quell, broke out on all sides around the Parliament. The Cavaliers had, indeed, promised to make no attempt until the Scots entered the kingdom, but every day, in some place, either the popular impulse, or a favourable opportunity, or an unexpected and apparently imperative occurrence, helped to precipitate their insurrection. On the 4th of May, some inhabitants of the county of Essex petitioned that negotiations should be reopened with the King, and the army be disbanded after the payment of its arrears.³ Following their example, seven or eight hundred gentlemen, free-

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 105.

² *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 317.

³ *Rushworth*, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1101.

holders, and farmers from Surrey, went to London on the 16th of May, with a similar petition, couched in still more haughty terms. They demanded that the King should be recalled to Whitehall, and replaced on his throne with the splendour of his ancestors. When they arrived at the House, as they were passing through the various courts and rooms, some of them began to quarrel with the guards, and asked them, "Why they stood there to guard a company of rogues?" The soldiers warmly resented this insult, a riot began, the soldiers on guard were disarmed, and one of them was killed. A reinforcement of troops arrived, and the petitioners were charged in their turn, and pursued from one corridor to another, from room to room, from street to street: they did not, however, fly till they had made a vigorous resistance, leaving five or six of their number dead at the door of the House.¹ On hearing of this, the Royalists in Kent, who were also preparing a petition, organized themselves into different bodies of infantry and cavalry, selected officers from among their number, appointed places of rendezvous, chose Lord Goring, Earl of Norwich, for their general, took possession of Sandwich, Dover, and several other forts, and on the 29th of May assembled at Rochester, to the number of seven thousand, and agreed that they would all go together, in arms, to present their petition to the Parliament.² As soon as the standard of revolt was raised under this pretext, others hoisted it, without

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1110; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 886; Whitelocke, p. 306; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 106.

² Journals of the House of Lords; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1130; Whitelocke, p. 306; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 56.

troubling themselves to express in the form of petition, their griefs and their wishes. Sir Charles Lucas in Essex, Lord Capel in Hertfordshire, and Sir Gilbert Biron in the neighbourhood of Nottingham, openly raised troops for the King's service. News arrived on the 2nd and 8th of May, that Langdale and Musgrave in the north, in order to open an entrance for the Scots into the kingdom, had surprised and occupied, the one Berwick, and the other Carlisle.¹ Some symptoms of disturbance appeared in the fleet which lay in the Downs; Vice-admiral Rainsborough immediately set out to repress it, but the sailors refused to receive him,² put all their officers into a boat, sent them on shore, declared themselves for the King, and, without any leader above the rank of boatswain, set sail towards Holland, where the Duke of York, who had lately succeeded in escaping from St. James's, and soon after the Prince of Wales himself, took the command.³ Even in London, secret enlistments were carried forward, Royalist oaths were circulated, and armed bands traversed the City on their way to join other bodies of insurgents.⁴ The houses of the Earl of Holland and of the young Duke of Buckingham were constantly filled with malcontents, who came to inquire on what day and at what place hostilities were

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1099, 1105; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. pp. 51, 52.

² May 27th, 1648.

³ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 18; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 896, 899, 906; *Journals of the House of Lords*; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 102; Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. 531—535, 551—556.

⁴ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1117, 1174; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 892, 893.

to be commenced.¹ In fine, the insurrection, like an unquenchable conflagration, burst forth, extended, and constantly drew nearer and nearer to Westminster; and all the efforts of the committee at Derby House, in which the Independents held sway, all the tactics of Vane and St. John in bribing informers and unravelling plots,² could not prevent the cry of "God and King Charles!" from resounding incessantly in the ears of the Parliament.

Even the Presbyterians took the alarm: the Scots, their main supporters, did not arrive; they found themselves in danger of falling under the rule of the Cavaliers, the sole leaders of the movement, who, entertaining no greater regard for Presbyterian doctrines or intentions than for any other creed, instinctively cursed the Houses of Parliament, demanded that the laws and the king of old England should be restored, insultingly defied the austere severities of the new system of worship, engaged in forbidden pastimes, celebrated suppressed festivals, and raised once more the Maypoles which had been thrown down.³ News was received from Hammond that the King had nearly succeeded in effecting his escape,⁴ and the most moderate shuddered with fear at the thought that he might have appeared suddenly at the gates of London, at the head of a host of insurgents: party hatreds, desires for peace, alarms respecting the future, all dis-

¹ Whitelocke, p. 317; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 40.

² *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 887, 892.

³ Whitelocke, p. 305.

⁴ May 31.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 899, 909—921, 928; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 192.

appeared before such an immediate danger. In order to remove the most plausible pretexts for rebellion, it was resolved to renew negotiations with the King;¹ the City obtained the complete acquittal of its aldermen;² Skippon took the command of its militia, and Colonel West that of the Tower, from which he had been dismissed by Fairfax;³ while a decree against heresy and blasphemy, which enjoined the infliction of death in certain cases, attested the return of Presbyterian ascendancy.⁴ At the same time, every idea of concession or forbearance towards the Cavaliers was haughtily rejected. Papists and malignants were again banished from London, under the severest penalties;⁵ the goods of delinquents were seized for the payment of debts they had contracted with friends of the good cause;⁶ the sale of Church lands was hastened;⁷ reinforcements were sent to the garrison of Carisbrooke;⁸ the Common Council, after having received communications which were, as they declared, "like light breaking through the clouds," solemnly protested that they were resolved to live and

¹ May 6 and 24.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 885, 892.

² May 23.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 891.

³ May 18.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1118.

⁴ May 2.—Journals of the House of Lords.

⁵ May 23.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1124.

⁶ May 11.—Ibid. p. 1110.

⁷ In the course of the years 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, and 1651, property was sold belonging to—

| | £. | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------------|----------|----|----|
| The see of York, to the amount of - | 65,786 | 7 | 1½ |
| The see of Durham, " - - | 68,121 | 15 | 9 |
| The see of Carlisle, " - - | 6,449 | 11 | 2 |
| The see of Chester, " - - | 1,129 | 18 | 4 |
| Total - | £141,487 | 12 | 4½ |

(Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 306.)

⁸ About the end of May.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1130.

die with the Parliament.¹ Fairfax received orders to take up arms immediately against the bands that infested the neighbourhood of London; Lambert was directed to go to the northern counties, in order at least to repress the insurrection that had been excited by Langdale and Musgrave, while waiting for the Scots; and, with a severity previously unprecedented, doubtless to prove the sincerity of their stern measures, the Commons voted, on the 11th of May, that, since the presence of the King no longer served as an excuse to the rebels, no quarter should be granted them.²

Fairfax left Windsor on the 1st of June, and three days afterwards, he reached Maidstone and defeated the main body of the Kentish insurgents. In vain did they attempt to evade such an unexpected encounter; in vain, when they found themselves obliged to fight, did they maintain a long and sanguinary contest in the streets of the town.³ The soldiers of Fairfax, who were ever filled with the most ardent fanaticism, and had been long accustomed to military service, hating the Cavaliers and despising the new recruits, impatiently hastened to have done with a war, the dangers of which seemed almost beneath their contempt. They traversed the county of Kent by forced marches, every day dispersing some assembly or recovering some town, using the country roughly, but maintaining strict discipline, and leaving to the Royalists neither refuge nor repose. Goring, however, managed to collect three or four

¹ May 20.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 890.

² Journals of the House of Commons.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1137; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 902; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 107.

thousand men, who, on the 3rd of June, assembled at Blackheath under his command. He was now almost at the gates of London, and he flattered himself with the expectation that an insurrection would break out at his approach, or that he would at least receive some secret aid. He even wrote to the Common Council, requesting permission to pass through the City, in order that he might, with his adherents, proceed into Essex without difficulty. But the Common Council, instead of answering him, sent his letter unopened to the Parliament, and professed themselves ready to act according to its wishes in all things.¹ On learning this, disorder and discouragement pervaded the ranks of the Cavaliers; they deserted in troops, and Goring had great difficulty in collecting a sufficient number of boats to enable him to cross the Thames at Greenwich with seven or eight hundred men who followed him into Essex. There he found the insurrection still vigorous and flourishing under the direction of Sir Charles Lucas. Lord Capel had joined them with a troop of Cavaliers from Hertfordshire; and they proceeded together to Colchester on the 12th of June, with somewhat brighter hopes, intending to repose there for two or three days, and then to go through the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, raising the Royalists as they went, and returning to London through Cambridgeshire, at the head of a numerous army. But they had no sooner entered the town, than Fairfax appeared beneath its walls, and closely invested it.² A fortnight's campaign had thus

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1130; Whitelocke, p. 309; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 107.

² June 13.

sufficed to shut up in one feebly-defended town, the shattered remains of an insurrection, which had recently surrounded London on all sides. In some places, as in Rutlandshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire and Sussex, attempts were made to revive it.¹ Even in the heart of the City, under the very eyes of the Parliament, Lords Holland, Peterborough and Buckingham took up arms, and on the 5th of July, followed by about a thousand Cavaliers, marched out of the City, proclaiming that they had no intention of sacrificing public liberties for the sake of the King, but wished only to restore him to his legal rights. But while they were still hovering about London, Sir Michael Livesey, who had been sent against them from head-quarters, suddenly attacked them,² killed several of their officers, among others young Sir Francis Villiers, brother of the Duke of Buckingham; and, on being reinforced the next day by Colonel Scroop's regiment, pursued them closely into Huntingdonshire, where, tired even of flight, they dispersed in all directions, leaving Lord Holland wounded in the hands of the enemy.³ In the east and south, other attempts had no better issue. Letters were received from Cromwell, on the 16th of June, promising that in a fortnight he would be master of Pembroke Castle, the stronghold of the western insurgents.⁴ In the north, Lambert, although with

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1135, 1145, 1149, 1150, 1169.—Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 112.

² July 7.

³ July 10.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1178, 1180, 1182, 1187; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 925, 927.

⁴ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1159; Commons' Journals, vol. v. p. 608; Carlyle's Letters and Speeches of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 347.

inferior forces, valiantly sustained the honour and authority of the Parliament against the Cavaliers under Langdale.¹ Colchester, lastly, notwithstanding the indomitable resistance of the besieged, who were unmoved either by invitations or attacks, was so reduced by famine, that it could no longer hold out against Fairfax, who was able to devote his whole energies to the siege.²

Relieved from their first anxieties, and certain of not falling into the hands of the Cavaliers, the Presbyterians now began once more to feel uneasy about the Republicans and the army, and to meditate peace. Petitions soliciting it, which were still numerous, though less dictatorial in their tone, were better received.³ The expulsion of the eleven members was revoked, and they were invited to resume their seats.⁴ It was suggested that new proposals should be presented to the King, of a less obnoxious character than the former; and there seemed to be a disposition to resume negotiations with him, if he would previously consent to three things: 1. To recall all his proclamations against the Parliament. 2. To give up to them for ten years, the disposal of the sea and land forces. 3. To establish Presbyterianism for three years in England.⁵ A special committee was appointed, on the 26th of June, to investigate the best means of attaining this result;

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1157; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. pp. 55, 75.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1204; Whitelocke, p. 316.

³ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 921.

⁴ June 8.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 907.

⁵ June 6.—Ibid., col. 904.

and to decide at what time, in what place, and in what form it would be proper to treat with the King. One member even inquired whether it would not be advisable that the King should immediately return to Windsor;¹ and, upon a petition from the City, dated on the 27th of June, the Lords voted that any conference that might be opened, should take place in London.² Lastly, on the 30th of June, the resolution, forbidding all addresses to the King, was formally repealed;³ and three days after, a motion was made in the House of Commons, that a new treaty should be offered to his Majesty without delay.

But the Independents had, at the same time, regained confidence: proud of the success of their soldiers, they violently rejected the idea of renewing negotiations with the King. Thomas Scott said, "He was of opinion that there could be no time seasonable for such a treaty, or for a peace, with so perfidious and implacable a prince; it will always be too soon or too late. He that draws his sword upon the King, must throw his scabbard into the fire; and all peace with him will prove the spoil of the godly." The Presbyterians did not undertake to defend the King, but they opposed those self-styled godly persons, who would, in reality, be ruined by peace, because their fortune had been made by war. "The people," said they, "who have been ruined by this war, do not want to be fuel to a fire, in which

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1164.

² Journals of the House of Lords.

³ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 921.

only these salamanders can live; they do not wish those vampires, called the army, to be fattened any longer on their blood and substance; the army was engaged to serve, not to devour them." In what place, it was asked, should negotiations be recommenced? The Presbyterians wished it to be in London, or some neighbouring place; the Independents preferred the Isle of Wight, where Charles was in their power. Scott affirmed "that the City was as obnoxious to the King's anger as any part of the kingdom; and if the treaty should be in London, who could secure the Parliament that the City would not make their peace with the enraged King, by delivering up their heads to him for a sacrifice, as the men of Samaria did the heads of the seventy sons of Ahab?" It was further proposed, that "if the King came not to London, but to one of his houses about ten miles from thence, he might be desired to give his royal word to reside there till the conclusion of the treaty," a suggestion which was slighted by Colonel Harvey, Sir Harry Vane, and Sir Henry Mildmay, on the ground that the King had so repeatedly perjured himself, that he could no longer be trusted. Sir Symonds D'Ewes then rose, "and declared himself to be of a contrary opinion; for that the House not only ought, but must trust his Majesty, and that they were not in a condition to stand upon such high terms; for," said he, "Mr. Speaker, if you know not in what condition you are, give me leave, in a word, to tell you. Your silver is clipped, your gold shipped, your ships are revolted, yourselves contemned, your Scotch friends

enraged against you, and the affections of the City and kingdom quite alienated from you. Judge, then whether you are not in a low condition, and, also, if it be not high time to endeavour a speedy settlement and reconciliation with his Majesty."¹ The Independents protested; but many members, unattached to to any faction, and accustomed to take either side, as the times seemed to indicate, silently approved of Sir Symonds' words. The House voted that negotiations should be opened, but persisted, by eighty-six votes against seventy-two, contrary to the wish of the Upper House, in demanding of the King the adoption of the three bills as a preliminary condition; and no decision was arrived at as to the place where the negotiations should be commenced.²

The Parliament were discussing with the Common Council, what measures would need to be taken, in order to conduct the negotiations in London, without danger to either the King or the Parliament,³ when news arrived that the Scots had entered the kingdom on the 8th of July,⁴ and that Lambert was retreating before them. Notwithstanding the intrigues of Argyle, and the furious discourses of a large section of the clergy, Hamilton had, at length, succeeded in raising an army, and had begun his march. It did not, certainly, carry out the original intentions of

¹ Clement Walker's *History of Independency*, pp. 108—112; *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 922—924.

² *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 924.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii pp. 1185, 1187.

⁴ *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 931; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1188.

the Parliament; instead of forty thousand, it scarcely numbered fourteen thousand men; the Court of France had promised arms and ammunition, but none had arrived; the Prince of Wales was to have come over to Scotland in order to take the command, but he still remained in Holland; even the Cavaliers of Langdale and Musgrave had not joined their new allies, for they had refused to take the Covenant, and Hamilton could not incorporate such unbelievers with his own soldiers, without losing the confidence of his party; they therefore formed a separate body, which seemed to act only on its own account, and always kept at a distance from the Scots. In fine, Hamilton's preparations, crossed by so many obstacles, were exceedingly incomplete; his regiments had not their full complement of men; his artillery was not in proper order; but the premature outbreak of royalist insurrections in England had constrained him to hasten his departure, and he left Scotland ill-provided and anxious, followed by the invectives of a host of fanatics, who prophesied the destruction of an army which was employed, they said, to restore the King to his throne before Christ had been put in possession of his rights.¹

The news of the invasion caused great agitation through all England. No one seemed strong enough to oppose it: Fairfax was still busy at Colchester, Cromwell was at Pembroke; the insurrection, which was hardly yet suppressed, might break out again in

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1196—1198; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 71; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 111; Bowring, p. 98; Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 57; Malcolm Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 394—402.

any place, at any time. The embarrassment of the Presbyterians was extreme: even the people, who were well disposed towards them, had resumed their ancient aversion against the Scots, could not speak of them without insult, called to mind how they had but recently betrayed the King whom they now assembled to deliver, and, indeed, made it their first wish that these greedy and treacherous foreigners should be driven out of the kingdom. A motion was made in the House of Commons, on the 14th of July, declaring them public enemies, and denouncing as traitors all who had had any share in inviting them:¹ ninety members protested against the motion, but feebly, and without success; but it was thrown out by the Upper House.² Moreover, the Lords voted that it was desirable to hasten negotiations with the King;³ and this time, the Presbyterians induced the Commons, on the 28th of July, by a majority of seventy-one against sixty-four, to cease to insist on the three bills, which they had previously resolved to make the preliminary condition of any treaty.⁴ But without troubling themselves with these vicissitudes in the daily fortune of parties, the Derby House Committee, which was still in the power of the Independents, sent money and reinforcements to Lambert; commanded Cromwell to despatch to the North all the troops he could dispense with, and to proceed thither, in person, as soon as he possibly could; and the Republican leaders themselves, humbling their

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 934.

² Ibid. vol. iii. col. 936.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1183.

⁴ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 956.

distrust before his genius, wrote secretly to him urging him to fear nothing, to act with vigour, and to rely upon them, notwithstanding the opposition he had hitherto experienced from them.¹

Cromwell had acted already without waiting for either orders or promises. A month before, having received information, possibly from Argyle, of the state and movements of the Scottish army, he had sent word to Lambert to retreat as soon as they should appear, and to avoid an engagement, as he would soon be in a condition to assist him : and, in fact, Pembroke Castle capitulated on the 11th of July, 1648, three days after the invasion commenced ;² and two days after, Cromwell set out at the head of five or six thousand men, ill-shod, ill-clothed, but proud of their glory, irritated by their perils, full of trust in their leader, and of disdain for their enemies, eager for an encounter, and sure of victory. Cromwell wrote to the Derby House Committee, "desiring that his poor wearied soldiers may have shoes provided for them, the better to enable them to take their long march to the north."³ He passed first from east to west, then from south to north, and so through nearly the whole of England, with a rapidity previously unequalled, marking his way with protestations and impulsive acts of piety, solely bent on disarming suspicion, on gaining the hearts of the blindest fanatics, and on living in sympathy with

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 111 ; Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. 591.

² Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1190 ; Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 357.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1206.

his soldiers.¹ On the 27th of July, just thirteen days after his departure, his cavalry, which had been sent on in advance of him, joined Lambert's army; and he himself arrived on the 7th of August at Knaresborough in Yorkshire, where the combined forces amounted to nine or ten thousand men. Meantime the Scots had advanced by a western route across the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, but their march had been uncertain, they had made long halts, and were dispersed over an area of twenty or five-and-twenty miles, busying themselves in religious, political, and military discussions, and completely ignorant of the enemy's designs and movements. All at once Langdale, who, with the English insurgents, was marching somewhat to the left, and in advance of the rest of the army, sent word to Hamilton that Cromwell was approaching; that he had certain information of it; and that everything indicated on his part an intention of giving battle. The duke replied that it was impossible—they had not had time to reach them; and that if Cromwell was so near, he certainly could have only a small body of men with him, and would take good care not to attack them: accordingly, on the 17th of August, he removed his head-quarters to Preston. Soon another message reached him, that Langdale's cavalry were already engaged with Cromwell's. Langdale seemed likely to hold his ground; his position was favourable, and his men in good spirits: he only wanted some reinforcements, a thousand men at least, and he would give the whole army time to rally so as to

¹ *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 390.

thoroughly demolish the enemy. Hamilton promised reinforcements. Langdale continued the contest for four hours : according to his own confession, Cromwell had never met with such a desperate resistance. But no assistance came, and Langdale was obliged to yield. Leaving the vanquished English to fly whither they would, Cromwell marched straight against the Scots, who were crossing the river Ribble with all haste, in order to interpose a barrier to his pursuit ; most of the regiments had already reached the left bank of the river, and only two brigades of infantry, with Hamilton himself and some squadrons of horse, remained on the right bank to cover their retreat. Cromwell immediately charged them, crossed the river with them, and, scarcely giving his troops a few moments for repose, continued the pursuit by daybreak the next day, the 18th of August. The course of their flight was towards the south ; and even whilst in retreat, they continued their invasion. He overtook them the same day at Wigan, fifteen miles from Preston, and cut their rear-guard to pieces. Their pride at thus gaining two victories, the hope of a decisive triumph, and the very impatience produced by fatigue, hourly augmented the enthusiasm of his soldiers. The pursuit was renewed the next day, August the 19th, with even more energy and rapidity. The Scots, irritated in their turn at being so hard pressed on by an enemy inferior to themselves, and meeting with an advantageous defile near Warrington, at length turned and faced their pursuers, and engaged them in a third battle, more protracted and bloody than either of the two preceding, but ending

in the same result. The English carried the defile, and afterwards a bridge at Warrington, which the Scots attempted to break down in order to give themselves breathing-time. Confusion and dismay now took possession of the Scottish army; a council of war determined that infantry without ammunition could resist no longer, and they surrendered in a body. Hamilton, at the head of his cavalry, attempted to reach Wales in order to revive the royalist insurrection in that country; then, suddenly changing his purpose, he turned towards the north-east, in the hope of regaining Scotland: but everywhere on his passage the peasantry rose in arms, and the magistrates summoned him to capitulate. At Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire, on account of a rumour that arose that he meditated escaping with some officers, his own cavalry mutinied. Lambert and Lord Grey of Groby, who had been despatched in pursuit of him, had now almost overtaken him. Too fainthearted to struggle against such an adverse fate, he allowed his followers to disband, and betake themselves whithersoever they pleased. On the 25th of August, he himself accepted the conditions proposed by Lambert, and was carried prisoner to Nottingham Castle. After a fortnight's campaign, having removed all traces of the Scottish army from the English soil, Cromwell marched towards Scotland to invade it in its turn, and so to deprive the Presbyterian Royalists of all means of action and safety.¹

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1237, 1239, 1241; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 75; Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 320; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 111; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 997—1000; Malcolm Laing's History of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 400—403;

But, in moments of extreme danger, parties, instead of succumbing, often assume their loftiest bearing, and deal their roughest blows. Even before this important news reached Westminster, as soon as they found that Cromwell had advanced against the Scots, the Presbyterians had discerned that his triumph would be their ruin, and that they could only be saved, either by his destruction, or by the speedy restoration of peace. Accordingly they used their most energetic efforts for the attainment of these ends. Hollis, who, notwithstanding the recall of the eleven members, had hitherto continued to live in France, on the coast of Normandy, now resumed his seat in the Commons.¹ Huntington, who had formerly been major in Cromwell's own regiment, in an address to the Upper House, dated on the 3rd of August, publicly denounced the intrigues of the Lieutenant-general, his promises to the King, his treacherous conduct, the boldness of his ambition, his contempt of the Parliament, of the common laws, duties, and rights of men, and the pernicious principles and menacing designs which were sometimes visible in spite of his hypocrisy, and sometimes openly expressed by him in the freedom of conversation. The Lords ordered the memorial to be read, and Huntington affirmed its truth on his oath, on the 8th of August. He intended to present it also to the House of Commons; but so formidable had Cromwell's name now become, that no

Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii. pp. 563-572; Baker's *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, p. 606; Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*, vol. i. pp. 369-383.

¹ August 14.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1226.

member would risk the peril of introducing it. He sent it under cover to the Speaker. Lenthall said nothing about it to the House; but he attempted to give it to the serjeant-at-arms, who refused to receive it. The Lords sent it officially to the Commons. Lord Wharton, one of Cromwell's most intimate confidants, followed the messengers, forewarned the Speaker of the object of their message, and they were not introduced.¹ The Independents protested indignantly against such measures; it was, they said, a criminal act of cowardice thus to attack a man in his absence, when he was, perhaps, at that very moment, delivering his country from foreign invasion; and many of the Presbyterians themselves were intimidated by this argument. All hopes of thus directly overthrowing the Lieutenant-general had to be abandoned, and Huntington contented himself with having his declaration printed. Measures which aimed at the restoration of peace had greater success. In vain did the leaders of the Independents, especially Vane and St. John, exhaust all their stratagems to protract the debates; in vain did others, who were more unscrupulous, such as Scott, Venn, Harvey, and Weaver, denounce the Presbyterians who were obnoxious to them in the wildest and most outrageous terms: these violent demonstrations, this continually augmenting disorder, the arrogance of the soldiers, the imperious tone adopted in pamphlets and petitions, even in those professing a pacific policy,—all told the House that its own power was on the

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 965; Whitelocke, p. 327.

decline, and led all who were not inextricably involved in party intrigues to wish earnestly for peace. "Mr. Speaker," said Rudyard, one day, "we have sat thus long, and are come to a fine pass, for the whole kingdom is now become Parliament all over; the army hath taught us a good while what to do, and would still teach us what we shall do; the city, country, and Reformadoes teach us what we should do; and all is because we ourselves know not what to do."¹ And the majority agreed with him in thinking that peace alone could release them from this dishonourable state of embarrassment. At last the resolution was taken, and a vote passed that new negotiations should be immediately commenced with the King. It was agreed, in order to quiet the Independents, that they should take place in the Isle of Wight;² and three Commissioners were appointed³ to convey the proposal to the King, and ask him in what part of the island he would wish to reside during the treaty, and which of his advisers he would desire to have with him.

The Independent leaders were not deceived: this was an irrevocable reverse. Feeling that a crisis was at hand, and more intimidated by their triumph than by their threats, the majority were evidently passing over to their enemies. Ludlow proceeded at once to headquarters, which were still at Colchester. He thus relates his interview with Fairfax:—"I told him that a design was driving on to betray the cause in which

¹ August 8.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 984—986.

² July 29.—Ibid. vol. iii. col. 959.

³ August 2.—Ibid. vol. iii. cols. 964, 965.

so much of the people's blood had been shed ; that the King, being under a restraint, would not account himself obliged by anything he should promise under such circumstances ; and I assured him that most of those who pushed on the treaty with the greatest vehemency, intended not that he should be bound by the performance of it, but designed principally to use his authority and favour in order to destroy the army,—who, as they had assumed the power, ought to make the best use of it, and to prevent the ruin of themselves and the nation. He acknowledged what I said to be true, and declared himself resolved to use the power he had to maintain the cause of the public, upon a clear and evident call, looking upon himself to be obliged to pursue the work which he was about." Ludlow then went to Ireton, whom Cromwell, on his departure, had taken care to leave with the General, and who, he expected, would receive him more heartily. " We both agreed," writes Ludlow, " that it was necessary for the army to interfere in this matter, but differed about the time, he being of opinion that it was best to permit the King and Parliament to make an agreement, and to wait till they had made a full discovery of their intentions, whereby the people, becoming sensible of their own danger, would willingly join to oppose them."¹ The Republicans, in default of the army, sent threatening petitions to Westminster, among others, one drawn up by Henry Martyn, which set forth all the principles of the party, and required the Commons to declare

¹ Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 112, 113.

themselves the sovereign power, and to respond at length to the expectations of the people, by giving them all the reforms which they had expected to obtain when they took up arms on behalf of the Parliament. The House made no reply: two days after, a second petition arrived, complaining bitterly of this contemptuous neglect, and this time the petitioners thronged to the doors in troops, exclaiming angrily, "that they knew no use of a King or Lords any longer, and that such distinctions were the devices of men; God made all alike; and there are many thousands who would spend their blood in the maintenance of these principles. Forty thousand had subscribed this petition, but they conceived five thousand horse would do more good in it."¹ Some even of the members, Scott, Blackiston and Weaver, went out of the House, mixed familiarly with the crowd, and encouraged these cries. The House persisted in its silence; but the greater firmness it displayed, the more passionately did the Independent party hasten towards its ultimate designs, and on the 18th of September, five days after this scene, Henry Martyn suddenly set out for Scotland, where Cromwell had just arrived.²

About the same time, on the 13th of September, fifteen Commissioners set out for the Isle of Wight. The Commission was composed of five Lords and ten

¹ September 11.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1005—1013; Whitelocke, p. 335; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1257; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 114.

² Whitelocke, p. 337.

members of the House of Commons,¹ all of whom, except Vane, and perhaps Lord Say, were favourable to peace. Never before had any negotiation excited such lively interest; it was to last forty days. The King had eagerly accepted the proposal, giving his word that, during that period, and for twenty days afterwards, he would make no attempt to escape. Twenty of his oldest servants, noblemen, divines, and lawyers, had been admitted to aid him by their counsels; he had even demanded and obtained permission that part of his household and domestic retinue, pages, secretaries, chamberlains, grooms, equerries, and valets, should be restored to him on this occasion.² Accordingly on the arrival of the Commissioners, on the 15th of September, at the small town of Newport, the crowd was so great, that three days elapsed before the new comers could succeed in obtaining a lodging. Meantime, the Commissioners presented themselves every morning before the King, treating him with profound respect, but great reserve, and not one of them venturing upon a private interview. Most of them, however, communicated freely with his counselors, and in this way conveyed their advice to him, exhorting him above all things to accept the proposals of Parliament promptly and almost without questioning; for, said they, all is lost if the negotiation is not concluded, and the King once more in

¹ Lords Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, Middlesex, and Say; Lord Wenman, Hollis, Pierrepont, Vane, Grimstone, Sir John Potts, John Carew, Samuel Brown, John Glynn, and John Bulkley.

² *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 1001; *Journals of the House of Lords*, August 24.

London, before Cromwell and his troops have time to return.¹ Charles seemed to believe in the sincerity of their advice, and disposed to comply with it, but he secretly entertained far different hopes: Ormonde, who for the last six months had been a refugee in Paris, whither he had gone in March, 1648, was now about to reappear in Ireland, with the supplies of money and ammunition that had been promised him by the court of France. On his arrival, and in concert with Lord Inchiquin, he was to conclude a peace with the Catholics, and commence a vigorous war against the Parliament; so that the King, on effecting his escape, would once more have a kingdom and an army at his command.² In a letter to Sir William Hopkins, Charles stated these plans, and made arrangements for his flight.³

The conference opened on the 18th of September; the King was seated under a canopy at the end of the room; before him, at a little distance, were the Westminster Commissioners, seated round a table; behind his chair his counsellors stood in silence, for it was with the King personally that the Parliament wished to treat, and any mediator would have seemed to compromise its dignity; and, notwithstanding all their punctilious submission, the Commissioners could hardly be prevailed upon to allow the presence of any witnesses. Charles therefore maintained the discussion

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 154; Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 72.

² Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii. pp. 20—38.

³ August 1648.—The king's letters to Sir William Hopkins were published in the third edition of Wagstaff's "*Vindication of the Royal Martyr*."

alone; but whenever he wished, he might retire into an adjoining room to receive the suggestions of his counsellors.¹ At the sight of their King, thus single-handed, and cast upon his own resources, silent emotion stirred the hearts of all present. Charles's hair had turned white; an expression of habitual sadness had tempered the haughtiness of his glance; his deportment, his voice, all his features bespoke a mind still lofty, though vanquished, equally incapable of struggling against his destiny, and of yielding to it; a singular and touching mixture of greatness without strength, and of presumption without hope.² The proposals of the Parliament, which were unchanged, except in a few unessential particulars, were successively read and examined. Charles applied himself with dignified calmness to the discussion, answering every objection, irritated by no resistance, able to make the best of all the points of his case, indeed astonishing his most prejudiced adversaries by the firmness of his mind, his gentleness of demeanour, and his intimate acquaintance with the affairs and laws of the kingdom. "The King," said the Earl of Salisbury one day to Sir Philip Warwick, "is wonderfully improved." "No, my Lord," replied Warwick, "he was always so, but your Lordship too late discerned it." Bulkley, one of the Commons' Commissioners, urged him to accept all, assuring him that, "the treaty once ended, the devil himself could not be able to break it." "If you

¹ Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 72; Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 324; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 156.

² Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 157.

call this a treaty," replied Charles, "consider whether it be not like the fray in the comedy, where the man comes out and says, 'There has been a fray and no fray,' and being asked how that could be, 'why,' says he, 'there hath been three blows given, and I had them all.' Look, therefore, whether this be not a parallel case; observe whether I have not granted absolutely most of your propositions, and with great moderation limited only some few of them; nay, consider whether you have made me any concessions."¹ He had, in fact, consented to comply with the demands of the Parliament respecting the command of the sea and land forces, the right of nomination to offices of importance, the government of Ireland, and even the legitimacy of the resistance which had led to the civil war; but, instead of yielding at once and without hesitation, he had disputed foot by foot the ground he could no longer maintain, now sending propositions of his own to the Parliament, now endeavouring to evade his own concessions, obstinately determined to maintain his rights even when he was surrendering them, inexhaustible in subtleties and dissimulation, and daily giving his adversaries some new reason to think that the severest necessity was their only security against him. Moreover, he persisted, as much from the requirements of his conscience as from the interests of his power, in rejecting the abolition of episcopacy, and the severities which it was proposed to inflict on his principal partisans. Finally, after having solemnly promised that all hostilities in

¹ Warwick's Memoirs, p. 323.

Ireland should cease,¹ he thus secretly wrote to Ormonde:²—"I must command you two things: first, to obey all my wife's commands; then not to obey any public command of mine, until I send you word that I am free from restraint. Lastly, be not startled at my great concessions concerning Ireland, for they will come to nothing."³

The Parliament, though they had no certain information, nevertheless suspected this treachery, and even those most desirous of peace, those who felt most deeply for the King and most earnestly longed to save him, could not meet this accusation of the Independents with a positive and unembarrassed denial. The Presbyterian devotees, at the same time, however moderate they might be in their political intentions, were inflexible in their hatred to episcopacy, and were determined to accept no compromise or delay which did not involve the triumph of the Covenant. Moreover, this idea was firmly fixed in their minds, that after so many evils had been brought upon the country by the war, the conquered party must necessarily take the responsibility, and that, in order to satisfy the Divine justice which was manifested in the Holy Scriptures by so many striking examples, the crime of those who were actually guilty must be expiated by their punishment. The number to be punished was disputed: the popular enthusiasts wished that a multitude of exceptions should be made in the amnesty that was

¹ Journals of the House of Lords. December 1.

² October 10.—Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii. Appendix, No. xxxi. xxxii. p. 17. ³ October 9.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 1048.

to be proclaimed on the restoration of peace; the Presbyterians only asked for seven,¹ but these they demanded with implacable determination, for they believed, that by sparing them, they would condemn themselves. Thus did narrow prejudices and paltry enmities, even in those most pacifically inclined, obstruct the successful prosecution of the negotiations. Five times during their course,² it was voted that the offers and concessions of the King were insufficient. In this state of uncertainty, the period assigned for the duration of the conference elapsed; the term was three times prorogued,³ and it was decided that Sundays and holidays should not be counted,⁴ but no further concession was made, no new instructions, even involving the smallest extension of their power of free discussion, were sent to the agents in the negociation. The King, on his part, declared that, for the sake of his honour and his faith, he could not go further, "that he should be like that captain that had defended a place well, and his superiors not being able to relieve him, he had leave to surrender it; but," he continued, "though they cannot relieve me in the time I demand it, let them relieve me when they can; else I will hold out till I make some stone in this building my tombstone. And so will I do by the Church of England."⁵ Thus the negociation remained stationary,

¹ Lords Newcastle and Digby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Grenville, David Jenkins, Sir Francis Doddington, and Sir John Byron.

² October 2, 11, and 27, and November 2 and 24.

³ November 2, 18, and 24.

⁴ October, 20.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 1058.

⁵ Warwick's Memoirs, p. 327.

serving only to give a striking exhibition of the impotent anxiety of the two parties, both of whom obstinately misunderstood and rejected that which was demanded by necessity.¹

Nevertheless, all things around them were hastening to a crisis, and hourly assuming a more threatening attitude. After two months of the most determined resistance, Colchester at length surrendered,² and the next day a court-martial condemned to death three of its bravest defenders, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne, as an example, they said, to rebels who might afterwards be tempted to follow their example. In vain did the other prisoners, with Lord Capel at their head, entreat Fairfax to delay the execution of this sentence, or to decree that they should all suffer the same fate, as they were all equally guilty with their companions. Fairfax, excited by the contest, or more probably intimidated by Ireton, did not reply; and orders were given that the three officers should be shot immediately. Sir Charles Lucas suffered first; as he fell, Lisle ran up to him and kissed him, and immediately standing up, called to the soldiers to come nearer, as they were too far off. "Fear not, sir," one replied, "we shall hit you." "My friends," answered Lisle, smiling, "I have been nearer when you have missed me," and he fell by the side of his friend. Gascoigne was taking

¹ Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 425—454; History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. pp. 152—182; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1002—1129, *passim*; Warwick's Memoirs, p. 327, *et seq.*; Herbert's Memoirs, p. 70; Bowring, p. 92.

² August 27, 1648.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1241—1249.

off his coat, when a reprieve from the general arrived.¹ Colchester having surrendered, no rallying place remained for the Royalist party in the east. In the north, Cromwell, who had conquered Hamilton, entered Scotland without opposition on the 20th of September; the peasantry of the western counties rose in a body at the first report of his victory; and, each parish under the conduct of its minister, marched towards Edinburgh in order to expel the Royalists.² Six miles from Berwick, at Lord Mordington's castle, Argyle, who had come to meet him, had a long conference with him;³ both were far-sighted men, and their success had not made them blind to their perils. The Scottish Royalists, powerful in spite of their defeat, and still in arms in many places, appeared determined not to succumb unresistingly to a sanguinary reaction, and a treaty was speedily concluded with them,⁴ securing to them the undisturbed enjoyment of their possessions on condition that they should disband their troops, abjure all their engagements in favour of the King, and again swear fidelity to that holy league which ought never to have ceased to be a bond of union between the two kingdoms. Thus

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 101.

² This expedition was called in Scotland the insurrection of the "Whigamores," from the word "whigam," used by the peasants to urge on their horses while driving them. Thence the name of "Whigs" came afterwards to be given to the party in opposition, as representatives and heirs of the most zealous Scottish Covenanters.—Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 78.

³ September 22.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1282.

⁴ September 26.—Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, p. 367; *History of his Own Times*, vol. i. p. 64; Malcolm Laing's *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 405.

reinstated in the possession of the government, Argyle and his party received Cromwell at Edinburgh with great pomp; the Committee of Estates, the municipal corporation, which had been either purged or re-elected, the fanatical clergy and populace overwhelmed him every day with visits, harangues, sermons, and banquets; but, urged by the reports of Henry Martyn, he retraced his steps towards England as speedily as possible,¹ leaving Lambert with two regiments to protect the newly-established government. He had hardly reached Yorkshire, where he appeared to be solely occupied in dispersing the remains of the insurrection, before numerous petitions were sent from that county, all addressed to the Commons only, demanding prompt justice on the delinquents, whatever might be their rank or name. At the same time, similar petitions arrived from other counties, and were always presented or supported by Cromwell's friends.² The Presbyterians opposed this movement in the name of the Great Charter and the laws of the kingdom. "Mr. Speaker," said Dennis Bond, an obscure Republican, "we have had many doctrines preached here by several gentlemen against the power of this House; such as that we cannot try my Lord of Norwich but by his peers, because it is against Magna Charta; but I trust ere long to see the day when we may have power to hang the greatest lord of them all, if he deserves it, without trial by his peers; and I doubt not but we shall have

¹ October 11.—Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1295, 1296.

² October 10 and November 6.

honest, resolute judges to do it, notwithstanding Magna Charta."¹ The House rejected the petitions; but others immediately followed, of a still more explicit and formidable character, for they came from the regiments of Ireton, Ingoldsby, Fleetwood, Whalley, and Overton, and formally demanded of the Commons that justice should be done on the King; at the same time requiring of Fairfax the re-establishment of the general council of the army "to consider of some effectual remedies to existing evils, either by representing the same to the House of Commons, or in such way as your Excellency with your council shall think fit."² Accordingly the council resumed its sittings, and on the 20th of November, the Speaker informed the House that officers were at the door, with Colonel Ewers at their head, who had come in the name of the General and the army to present a memorial. It was a long Remonstrance, similar to that which the Commons themselves had sent to the King on that very day seven years before,³ in order to break effectually with him. Following their example, the army in this paper enumerated all the grievances and all the fears of England, imputed them to the irresoluteness of the Parliament, to their forgetfulness of public interests, and their negotiations with the King; and it called upon them formally to deliver him over to justice, to

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1040—1042; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1318; Whitelocke, p. 346.

² October 18 and 30.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1056, 1077; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1297, 1311; Whitelocke, p. 343; Journals of the House of Commons.

³ November 21, 1641.

proclaim the sovereignty of the people, to decree that the King should, for the future, be elected by its representatives, to bring their own session to a close, to provide before they separated for the equal distribution of the right of suffrage, for the regular holding of future parliaments, and for all reforms desired by godly men ; and it finally threatened, though in disguised language, that it would itself save the country, if it continued any longer to be compromised by the neglect or feebleness of men who were after all, like the soldiers, the mere delegates and servants of their fellow-citizens.¹

As soon as this was read, a violent tumult arose in all parts of the House ; Scott, Holland, Wentworth, and the Independents loudly demanded that the army should be instantly thanked for its frank and courageous counsels. The Presbyterians, some indignantly, others in terms complimentary to the officers, urged the House to reject the Remonstrance, and, as a mark of its displeasure, to abstain from replying to it.² This expedient suited the timid as well as the brave ; it was carried by a great majority—one hundred and twenty-five votes against fifty-three—after two debates, held on the 20th and 29th of November. But the day was come when victories seemed only to precipitate an ultimate defeat : excitement and confusion were at their height at Westminster, both within doors and without ; the approaching return of Cromwell was

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1077—1128 ; Whitelocke p. 355.

² Mercurius Pragmaticus, No. 35.

now spoken of;¹ already had the army declared its intention to march on London.² The Royalists, losing all hope, now thought only of avenging themselves upon their enemies by any means they could command. Several Republican members were insulted and attacked in the streets.³ Warnings were sent to Fairfax, even from France, that the Cavaliers had resolved to assassinate him at St. Albans:⁴ at Doncaster, a band of twenty men carried off Rainsborough, the governor of the town, and three of them stabbed him at the moment when he was attempting to escape:⁵ report even stated that a plot was on foot for massacring eighty of the most influential members, as they left the House;⁶ and, lastly, in the midst of this general anarchy, tidings successively arrived, first, that in two days, that is, on the 2nd of December, Cromwell would be at head-quarters; then, that in the Isle of Wight, the governor, Hammond, having been suspected of too great leanings towards the King and the Parliament, had, on the 25th of November, received orders from Fairfax to quit his post, to return to the army, and to surrender to Colonel Ewers the charge of the King;⁷ that Charles, on learning this, had been seized with fear, extended his concessions, and closed the conferences at

¹ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1320.

² Whitelocke, p. 358; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1137—1141.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1279; Whitelocke, p. 339.

⁴ Ibid. part iv. vol. ii. p. 1280.

⁵ October 29.—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 122; Whitelocke, p. 346; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1315.

⁶ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1279; Whitelocke, p. 339.

⁷ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1133—1137.

Newport ; and that, on the same day, the 28th of November, the Commissioners had set out on their return to the Parliament, bearing with them his definite offers.

In fact, they arrived on the next day, almost all of them deeply affected by the peril in which they had left the King, and by his last farewell. "My lords," he said, "I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again ; but God's will be done. I have made my peace with Him, and shall undergo without fear, whatever He may suffer them to do with me. My lords, you cannot but know, that in my fall and ruin, you see your own, and that, also, near you. I pray God send you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the carriage of those who plot against me and mine ; but nothing affects me so much as the feeling I have of the sufferings of my subjects, and the mischief that hangs over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who, upon pretences of good, violently pursue their own interests and ends."¹ The report of the Commissioners was received on the 1st of December, and although the new concessions of the King differed little from those which they had so often rejected, yet the Presbyterians immediately proposed to the House that they should be declared satisfactory, and sufficient to serve as a basis for peace. The motion was even supported by Nathaniel Fiennes, son of Lord Say, and formerly one of the most impetuous of the leaders of the Independent party. The debate had lasted for several hours, when information reached the

¹ Works of King Charles the Martyr, p. 424. London, 1662.

House, of a letter which had been sent by Fairfax to the Common Council, to announce that the army was on its march towards London. "Question! question!" immediately shouted the Independents, eager to profit by the alarm excited by this intelligence; but, contrary to their expectations, and spite of all their efforts, the debate was adjourned to the next day.¹ It was resumed with greater vehemence than ever, amidst the movements of the troops, which were pouring in on all sides, and taking up their quarters at St. James's Palace, at York House, and all around the Parliament and the City. The Independents still expected that they would succeed in consequence of the terror of their opponents. "By this debate," said Vane, "we shall soon guess who are our friends and who our enemies; or, to speak more plainly, we shall understand, by the carriage of this business, who are the King's party in the House, and who are for the people." "Mr. Speaker," was the spirited reply of a member, whose name is not known, "since this gentleman has had the presumption to divide the House into two parts, I hope it is as lawful for me to take the same liberty in dividing the House likewise into two parts upon this debate. Mr. Speaker, you will find some that are desirous of peace and a settlement, and those are such as have lost by the war; others you will find that are against peace, and those are such as have gained by the war. My humble motion, therefore, is this, that the gainers may contribute to the losers, that we may all be brought to an equal degree, for, till then, the balance

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1143—1145.

of the Commonwealth will never stand right toward a settlement." The Independents protested, but with great embarrassment; for, on both sides, personal interests exerted an influence which they themselves could hardly venture to deny. Rudyard, Stephens, Grimstone, Walker, Prideaux, Wroth, Scott, Corbet, and many others, alternately supported and opposed the motion, and still the debate did not appear likely to terminate. Day declined; several members had already retired; an Independent proposed that candles should be lighted, and the sitting be continued. "Mr. Speaker," said a Presbyterian, "I perceive very well that the drift of some gentlemen is to take advantage not only of the terror now brought on us by the present approach of the army, but also to spin out the debate of this business to an unseasonable time of night, by which means the more ancient members of the House (whom they look upon as most inclined to peace) will be tired out and forced to depart before we can come to a resolution, and therefore, I hope the House will not agree to this last proposal;" and notwithstanding the clamours of the Independents, the debate was again adjourned.¹

The next day but one,² when the sitting began, an untoward rumour agitated the House. The King, it was said on all sides, had been removed from the Isle of Wight during the night, in spite of his resistance, and conveyed to Hurst Castle, a sort of prison, situated

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1145—1147; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 115.

² December 4.—The debate was not continued on the 3rd, because it was Sunday.

on the coast opposite the island, at the extremity of a barren, deserted, and unhealthy promontory. The Independent leaders, though vehemently urged to explain, remained silent. The sitting commenced; the Speaker read letters from Major Rolph, addressed to the House, from Newport, where Rolph had taken the command in the absence of Hammond. The rumour was confirmed, and, contrary to the inclination of the Parliament, all relations between the King and the Parliament were henceforth rendered impossible.¹

On the 29th of November, towards evening, some hours after the conferences at Newport had closed, and the Commissioners had left, a man in disguise told one of the King's servants, "that the army would that night seize upon the King's person." Charles immediately sent for the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindsey, and Colonel Edward Cook, an officer in his confidence, and entreated them to take means to verify the report. In vain did they attempt to obtain information from Major Rolph; he gave only short and obscure replies: "You may assure the King from me, that he may rest quietly for this night, for on my life, he shall have no disturbance this night." Cook offered to mount his horse, to ride along the coast, and to go to Carisbrooke, where the troops, it was said, had arrived, in order that he might himself see what had happened. The night was dark, the rain violent, the enterprise dangerous; the King hesitated to accept such a service; Cook insisted, and went. He found that the garrison at Carisbrooke had

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1147, 1148.

been reinforced; ten or twelve officers had lately arrived; Captain Bowerman, who was in command, was almost openly guarded; everywhere an air of mystery and agitation prevailed. He returned as quickly as possible, to convey this information to the King, and arrived at Newport about midnight. On his return, he found the house occupied by the King surrounded by guards; there were soldiers under every window, and even inside the house up to the very door of the room in which the King slept, into which the smoke from their pipes penetrated through every crevice. Doubt was no longer possible; the two lords conjured the King to attempt an escape that very hour, at all hazards. This advice was displeasing to the timid gravity of Charles; he alleged the difficulty of the attempt, and the irritation which it would produce in the army. "Nay," he added, "what if the army should seize me, they must preserve me for their own sakes, for no party could secure their own interest without joining mine with it." The Earl of Lindsey replied, "Take heed, sir, lest you fall into such hands as will not steer by such rules of policy. Remember Hampton Court, where your escape was your best security." Richmond asked Cook how he passed to and fro; Cook answered, he had the word. The duke asked whether he could pass him too; he answered, he made no question but he could. Richmond put on a trooper's cloak; they went out, passed through all the posts, and returned without hindrance. The two lords, who were standing before a window with the King, passionately renewed their entreaties; the colonel,

drenched with rain, stood alone before the fire. "Ned Cook," said the King, suddenly turning towards him, "what do you advise in this case?" Cook hesitated, but answered, that his Majesty had his privy councillors with him. "Ned, I command you to give me your advice," said the King. Cook begged leave that, after he had premised some particulars, he might ask his Majesty a question. The King told him to speak. "Suppose," said he, "I should not only tell your Majesty that the army would very suddenly seize you, but, by concurring circumstances, fully convince your Majesty it would be so; that I have the word, horses ready at hand, a vessel attending me, and hourly expecting me; I am ready and desirous to attend you, and this dismal dark night seems as if it were suited for the purpose; I can foresee no difficulty in the thing, which I suppose to be the true state of this case; the only question now is, what will your Majesty do?" After a small pause, Charles pronounced this positive answer: "They have promised me, and I have promised them, and I will not break first." . . . "I presume," said the colonel, "your Majesty intends, by those words *they* and *them*, the Parliament; if so, the scene is now changed, your present apprehensions arising from the army." . . . The King replied, however, he would not break his word, and bade him and the Earl of Lindsey good night; and said he would go and take his rest as long as he could;—"That, sir," replied Colonel Cook, "I fear me, will not be long." The King answered, "As God please." It was now almost one o'clock; they withdrew, and

Charles went to bed. Richmond alone remained with him.

In the morning, just at break of day, the King, hearing a great knocking at his dressing-room door, sent the Duke of Richmond to ask what it meant; "who, inquiring who was there, was answered . . . that there were some gentlemen from the army, very desirous to speak with the King; which account the duke gave to the King. But the knocking increasing, the King commanded the duke to let them into the dressing-room; but before the King could get out of his bed, the officers rushed into his chamber, with Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett at their head, and abruptly told the King they had orders to remove him. 'From whom?' said the King. They replied, 'From the army.' The King asked whither he was to be removed? They answered, 'To the castle.' The King asked, 'What castle?' again they answered, 'The castle.' 'The castle,' said the King, 'is no castle; I am well enough prepared for any castle, and require them to name it.' After a short whisper together, they said, 'Hurst Castle.' The King replied that they could not name a worse, and then, turning to Cobbett, asked whether he was to have any servants with him. Cobbett replied, 'Only such as are most useful.' Charles named his two valets-de-chambre Harrington and Herbert, and Mildmay his esquire-carver. Richmond went out to make preparations for breakfast, but before it was ready the horses had arrived. Cobbett told him they must go. The King entered the carriage without saying a word,

taking Harrington, Herbert, and Mildmay with him. Cobbett came to the door to get in, but Charles barred the way against him with his foot, and the door was immediately closed. They drove off, escorted by a detachment of cavalry; a small vessel was awaiting them at Yarmouth; the King embarked, and three hours after was shut up in Hurst Castle, denied all communication with any one outside the castle, confined in a room so gloomy, that lights were necessary at midday, and placed under the guard of Colonel Ewers, a far rougher and more exacting jailer than even Cobbett had been.¹

On hearing this news the Presbyterians gave full vent to their indignation. "The House," they exclaimed, "guaranteed to the King, during his sojourn at Newport, respect, security, and liberty; it is dishonoured and ruined if this insolent act of insubordination be not decisively rebuked." They voted, therefore, that the King's imprisonment had taken place without the cognizance or consent of the House; and the debate relative to peace was renewed with redoubled earnestness. It had already lasted more than twelve hours; the night was far advanced; although the assembly was still numerous, fatigue had begun to overmaster the zeal of the old and feeble, when a member rose, who was illustrious among the martyrs in the cause of public liberty, but who had not sat in the House for more than three weeks,—the same

¹ Colonel Cook's Narrative in Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1344—1348; Herbert's Memoirs, pp. 79—91; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1149—1151; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 202.

Prynne who twelve years before had sustained a rough contest against the tyranny of Laud and the Court. He began his speech by denying the charge that he was a royal favourite. "To that charge," said he, "I return this short answer,—that all the royal favour I ever yet received from his Majesty or his party was the cutting off my ears two several times, one after another, in a most barbarous manner; the setting me upon three several pillories at Westminster and in Cheapside in a disgraceful manner, each time for two hours' space together; the burning of my licensed books before my face by the hand of the hangman; the imposing of two fines of five thousand pounds apiece; expulsion out of the Inns of Court and University of Oxford, and degradation in both; the loss of my calling almost nine years' space; the seizing of my books and estate; above eight years' imprisonment in several prisons—at least four of these years spent in close imprisonment at Caernarvon, in North Wales, and in the Isle of Jersey, where I was debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and all books almost but the Bible, without the least access of any friend, or any allowance of diet for my support. . . . Now if any member or old courtier whatever shall envy my happiness for being only such a royal or State favourite as this, I wish he may receive no other badges of royal favour from his Majesty, nor greater reward or honour from the Houses than I have done, and then I believe he will no more causelessly asperse or suspect me for being now a royal favourite, or apostate from the public cause." He continued speaking for several

hours, minutely discussing all the propositions of the King, and all the pretensions of the army ; passing successively under review the different aspects presented by the condition of the Parliament and of the country ; grave without pedantry, pathetic yet self-possessed, evidently raised by the strength and disinterestedness of his conscience above the passions of his sect, the defects peculiar to his own character, and the ordinary intellectual level of his mind. Alluding in the course of his speech to the arguments of the Republicans, he said, " They further object that, if we discontent the army by voting the King's answer satisfactory, we are undone ; they will all lay down their arms, as one commander of eminency hath here openly told you he must do, and serve us no longer ; and then what will become of us and all our faithful friends ? I answer, that I hope the army will not be so sullen as to desert or turn against us for voting what our consciences and judgments prompt us is most for theirs, ours, and the kingdom's safety, and that without hearing or scanning our debates : if they be, I shall not much value the protection of such inconstant, mutinous, and unreasonable servants ; and I doubt not, if they desert us on so slight a ground, God himself and the whole kingdom will stand by us, who else, I fear, will both unanimously rise up against us, to ours and the army's destruction ; and if the King and we shall happily close upon this treaty, I hope we shall have no great need of their future services. However, *fiat justitia, ruat cælum* ; let us do our duty, and leave the issue to God." The House listened to this speech with the

most earnest attention and the deepest emotion. It was now nine o'clock in the morning; the sitting had lasted twenty-four hours; two hundred and forty-four members were still present. At length the votes were taken, and it was decided by one hundred and forty voices against one hundred and four that the King's concessions were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom.¹

The Independents were rapidly losing their sway; even the resources supplied by fear were exhausted; all the members who could be reached by any such impression had either yielded or departed to a distance. In vain did Ludlow, Hutchinson, and some others, in order to embarrass the House, demand permission to enter a protest against their decision. Their wishes were repulsed as contrary to the usages of the House, which scorned the obnoxious notoriety which these members hoped would prove so formidable to its popularity.² After the rising of the House, the leaders of the party held a meeting together; a great number of officers, who had that morning arrived from headquarters, joined them. Their cause was in imminent danger; but so long as they were masters of the army, they had a power in their hands which could defy all perils; strong in their sincere fanaticism or ambitious aims, neither institutions, customs, nor laws, awed them any longer; anxiety to rescue their righteous cause rendered them regardless of men—necessity suspended

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1151—1240; Clement Walker's History of Independency, part. ii. p. 15.

² Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 116; Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 330.

their reverence for institutions. They agreed that the day was come; and six of their number, three members of the House and three officers, were charged to take measures accordingly. They passed several hours together, with the list of members of Parliament on the table before them, discussing the sentiments and conduct of each member, comparing notes, and sending commands to their confidants. The next day, December 6th, at seven o'clock in the morning, a body of troops was in motion, by order of Ireton, and before Fairfax was informed of their purpose. With Skippon's consent, the City train-bands, appointed for the guard of the Houses, had been withdrawn; two regiments, one of infantry, under Colonel Pride, and one of cavalry, under Colonel Rich, occupied Palace-yard, Westminster Hall, the staircase, the lobby, and all the approaches to the House. Pride had stationed himself at the very door of the House, holding in his hand the list of proscribed members, and by his side were Lord Grey of Groby and an usher, who were occupied in pointing out those members as they arrived. "You must not go in," said Pride to each of them; and at the same time, he arrested and sent away in custody those who were most suspected. A violent tumult soon broke out all round the House; the excluded members attempted to enter at other doors, asserted their rights, and claimed assistance from the soldiers, who only laughed and ridiculed. Some members, Prynne among the rest, obstinately resisted. "I will not stir," he said, "of my own accord:" and some officers pushed him insultingly down the stairs, de-

lighted to enhance the triumph of power by the luxury of licensed brutality. Forty-one members were thus arrested and conveyed temporarily to two neighbouring courts; many others were excluded, but not arrested. Only two of those included in Pride's list, Stephens and Colonel Birch, succeeded in making their way into the House; they were drawn to the door under false pretexts, and immediately seized by the soldiers. "Mr. Speaker," cried Birch, endeavouring to force his way back into the room, "will the House suffer their members to be pulled out thus violently before their faces, and yet sit still?" The House sent its sergeant-at-arms to the members outside, to require them to come in and take their places. Pride would not suffer them to do so. The serjeant-at-arms was sent again; but was not allowed to proceed to them. The House determined that it would transact no business so long as those members were not restored to their seats, and appointed a committee to go immediately to the General, and demand their release. The committee had no sooner left than a message came from the army, presented by Lieut.-colonel Axtell and some officers; they demanded the official exclusion of the arrested members, and of all those who had lately voted in favour of peace. The House did not reply, but awaited the result of the proceedings of their committee. The committee, on their part, brought back word that the General also refused to reply, till the House had adopted some resolution upon the message of the army. Meantime the excluded members had been taken from West-

minster, and led from one quarter of London to another, from tavern to tavern, sometimes crowded into a few coaches, sometimes driven on foot through the mud, surrounded by soldiers demanding payment of their arrears. Hugh Peters, the preacher, one of Fairfax's chaplains, came solemnly, sword by side, to take down their names, by order of the General. When called upon by several of them to say by what right they were arrested, "By the power of the sword," he replied. They supplicated Colonel Pride to hear them, but he sent word "that he had other employment for the present, and could not wait upon them." At length Fairfax and his council, who were sitting at Whitehall, promised them an audience; but after waiting several hours, three officers came to tell them that the General was too busy, and could not receive them. Some embarrassment seemed to be disguised under all this contempt; a meeting was evidently shunned; it was feared that their indomitable stubbornness might provoke the army to too great severities. Notwithstanding the audacity of their acts and intentions, the dominant party themselves cherished in their inmost hearts a secret respect for ancient and legal order, though they were themselves hardly conscious of it. In drawing up their proscription list they had rigorously kept themselves within the limits of strict necessity, hoping that a single purge would suffice to establish their triumph. It was with uneasiness that they found the House obstinately resolved upon the restoration of its members, and their adversaries in possession of a powerful party,

perhaps the majority. Hesitation, however, was impossible; they resolved to repeat the experiment. The next day, the 7th of December, troops a second time occupied all the avenues to the House; the same scene was repeated; forty more members were excluded; and some others were arrested in their own houses. They wrote to the House, indignantly demanding to be set at liberty: but this time the defeat of the Presbyterians was complete; instead of replying to them, the House carried, by fifty votes against twenty-eight, a motion to take into consideration the proposals of the army. This minority retired of its own accord, protesting that they would not enter the House again until justice had been done to their colleagues. Thus, after the expulsion of a hundred and forty-three members, most of whom were either not arrested, or were released from their confinement one by one without any stir, the Republicans and the army at length saw themselves in full possession of power, both in Parliament and out of it.¹

From this day they met with no opposition; no resistance; not a single voice now remained to disturb the party in the intoxication of its victory; its voice alone was heard, its acts alone were felt in the kingdom; it might easily persuade itself that the whole nation either submitted to it, or approved of it. Accordingly, the enthusiasm of the fanatics was at its height. "On the 22nd of December," says Walker, "both juntoes of

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. cols. 1240—1249; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. pp. 1353—1356; Whitelocke, p. 360; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 117; Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 331; Fairfax's Memoirs, p. 254; Clement Walker's History of Independency, part iv. p. 29, *et seq.*

four Lords and twenty Commons kept a mock fast at St. Margaret, Westminster, where Hugh Peters, the pulpit buffoon, acted a sermon before them. The subject of his sermon was 'Moses leading the Israelites out of Egypt,' which he applied to the leaders of this army, whose design is, 'to lead the people out of Egyptian bondage. But how must this be done? that is not yet revealed unto me,' quoth Hugh; and then, covering his eyes with his hands, and laying down his head on the cushion, until the people falling into a laughter awakened him, he started up and cried out, 'Now I have it by revelation, now I shall tell you. This army must root up monarchy, not only here, but in France and other kingdoms round about; this is to bring you out of Egypt; this army is that corner-stone cut out of the mountain, which must dash the powers of the earth to pieces. But it is objected, the way we walk in is without precedent. What think you of the Virgin Mary? was there ever any precedent before that a woman should conceive a child without the company of a man? This is an age to make examples and precedents in:'¹ and the people yielded themselves with transport to this mystical flattery. On the 7th of December, in the midst of this exultation, on the very day when the last remnants of the Presbyterian party were leaving the Commons, Cromwell returned to his place in the House. He repeatedly "declared that he had not been acquainted with this design; yet, since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to

¹ Walker's History of Independency, part ii. pp. 49, 50; Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 1252.

maintain it.”¹ The House received him with the most flattering expressions of gratitude. Official thanks were addressed to him, through the Speaker, for his Scottish campaign; and on leaving the House, he took up his abode in Whitehall, in the same apartments that the King had formerly occupied.² The next day, the army took possession of the money-chests of the different committees, being compelled, as they said, to provide for their own necessities, in order that they might no longer be a burden to the country.³ Three days after, on the 11th of December, they sent to Fairfax a plan of republican government, drawn up, it is said, by Ireton, under the title of “A new Agreement of the People,” and invited him to bring it under discussion in the general council of officers, who would afterwards present it to the Parliament.⁴ Meanwhile, without troubling themselves to ask for the consent of the Lords, the Commons repealed all the acts and votes that had recently been passed in favour of peace, and which would have obstructed the revolution.⁵ Finally, petitions were again sent in, demanding that justice should be done on the King, who alone was guilty of so much bloodshed,⁶ and a detachment of soldiers was sent from head-quarters with orders to bring him from Hurst Castle to Windsor.

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 117.

² *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 1246; Clement Walker's *History of Independency*, part ii. p. 34; Whitelocke, p. 360.

³ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1356.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1368, 1365.

⁵ December 12 and 13.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. cols. 1247—1249.

⁶ Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1372.

At midnight, on the 17th of December, Charles was awakened by the noise of the lowering of the draw-bridge, and by the entrance of a troop of soldiers into the castle-yard. Silence was speedily restored, but Charles was uneasy; before day-break he rang for Herbert, who was sleeping in an adjoining room. Charles asked if he heard the noise about midnight? Herbert said that he had, also the falling of the draw-bridge, but that he would not venture out at such a time of night without his Majesty's order. The King bade him go and learn what the matter was. "Mr. Herbert speedily returning to his Majesty, told him it was Major Harrison that came so late into the castle." "Are you sure it was Major Harrison?" said the King. "May it please your Majesty," said Mr. Herbert, "Captain Reynolds told me so." "Then I believe it," said the King; "but did you see Major Harrison?" "No, sir," said Mr. Herbert. "Would not Captain Reynolds," said the King, "tell you what the major's business is?" Mr. Herbert replied, he did what he could to be informed, but all he could then learn from the captain was, that the occasion of Harrison's coming would be known speedily. The King said no more, but bade him attend in the next room, and went to prayer. In less than an hour, the King opened the bedchamber door, and beckoned to Mr. Herbert to come in, and make him ready. Mr. Herbert was in some consternation to see his Majesty so much discomposed, and wept, which the King observing, asked him the meaning of it. Mr. Herbert replied, "Because I perceive your Majesty so much troubled and concerned

at the news I brought." "I am not afraid," said the King; "but do not you know that this is the man who intended to assassinate me, as by letter I was informed during the last treaty? To my knowledge I never saw the Major, though I have oft heard of him, nor ever did him injury. . . . I would not be surprised, this is a place fit for such a purpose. Herbert! I trust to your care; go again and make further inquiry into the business." Herbert returned more cheerful this time, having learnt that the Colonel intended to conduct the King to Windsor, in three days at latest, of which he hastened to inform Charles; and Charles himself was pleased with the intelligence, inferring from it that the army were becoming more tractable. "Windsor," he said, "was a place he ever delighted in, and would make amends for what he had suffered at Hurst."

Two days after this, Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett came and told his Majesty that he had received orders for his immediate removal to Windsor Castle, and that Harrison had already returned thither. Charles, so far from complaining, wished to hasten his departure. Three miles from Hurst, he was met by a body of cavalry, with orders to convey him to Winchester. On his arrival at every station in his journey, he was surrounded by a numerous crowd of gentlemen, citizens, and peasants; some had come merely from curiosity, and left as soon as they had seen him, others were deeply affected, and followed him with prayers for his preservation and liberty. When he arrived at Winchester, the mayor and aldermen met him, and, observ-

ing the usual custom, delivered to him the mace and the keys of the city, and presented him with an address full of affection. But Cobbett abruptly appearing while this was going on, told them "That the Parliament had voted no more addresses to the King on pain of high treason; and that by this address they made to him, they were within the danger of being traitors." The mayor and his colleagues, alarmed by this threat, humbly asked pardon, protested that they were not aware of the vote of the Parliament, and begged Cobbett to excuse them to the House. On the next day, the King resumed his journey. Between Alresford and Farnham, they found another body of cavalry drawn up in order, appointed to relieve the detachment that had hitherto escorted the King. It was commanded by an officer of prepossessing appearance, gallantly mounted and armed; a velvet cap was on his head, a new buff-coat upon his back, and a crimson silk scarf about his waist, richly fringed. Charles was struck by his appearance, as he passed by him at a leisurely pace, and gave him a respectful salute, which he returned. On rejoining Herbert, he asked the name of the officer, and being told it was Major Harrison, the King viewed him more narrowly, and fixed his eyes so steadily upon him, that the Major was abashed, and fell back to his troop sooner than probably he intended. The King said, "He looked like a soldier, and that his aspect was good, and not such a one as was represented; and that, having some judgment in faces, if he had observed him so well before, he should not have harboured that ill opinion of him." That evening, when the

cavalcade stopped for the night at Farnham, the King perceived the Colonel in a corner of the room, and beckoned to him to approach. Harrison obeyed deferentially and modestly, with an air at once rough and retiring. "The King then taking him by the arm, drew him aside towards the window, where for half an hour or more they discoursed together; and, amongst other things, the King reminded him of the information concerning him, which, if true, rendered him an enemy in the worst sense to his person. To which the Major in his vindication assured his Majesty that what was so reported of him was not true; what he had said he might repeat, 'that the law was equally obliging to great and small, and that justice had no respect to persons,' or words to that purpose, which his Majesty finding affectedly spoken, and to no good end, he left off further communication with him, and went to supper," without, however, appearing to attach to his words any unpleasant meaning.

He was to reach Windsor the next day. On leaving Farnham, he declared that he would stop at Bagshot, and dine in the forest at the house of Lord Newburgh, one of his most faithful Cavaliers. Harrison dared not refuse, though so much eagerness inspired him with suspicion. His fears were well founded. Lord Newburgh, who was a great breeder of horses, had one which had the reputation of being the swiftest in all England. A long time before, when secretly corresponding with the King, he had entreated him, on his journey, to disable the horse which he was riding, and had promised to give him one with which it

would be easy to escape suddenly from his escort, and to baffle the most active pursuit in the byroads of the forest, with which the King was well acquainted. Charles, in fact, on the road from Farnham to Bagshot, repeatedly complained of his horse, and said that he would change it. But no sooner had he arrived than he learned that the horse on which he counted had, on the previous day, received so severe a kick in the stable that it was unfit for use. Lord Newburgh was greatly distressed at the circumstance, and offered others to the King, which, he said, were excellent, and would fully answer his purpose. But, even with the fleetest horse, the attempt would have been perilous, for the cavalry escorting him constantly kept very near the King, and all of them had loaded pistols in their hands. Charles at once gave up the idea of running such a risk; and, when he reached Windsor that evening, he was so delighted to return to one of his own palaces, to occupy his accustomed room in it, and to find all things prepared to receive him almost in the same manner as in the times when he was wont to come, with his Court, to visit that beautiful retreat, that, far from experiencing any melancholy forebodings, he almost forgot that he was a prisoner.¹

On the same day, the 23rd of December, almost at the same hour, the House of Commons voted that he should be brought to trial, and appointed a committee to draw up the impeachment. Notwithstanding the

¹ Herbert's *Memoirs*, pp. 93—104; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 223; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1375; Whitelocke, p. 365.

small number of members present, several voices were raised against the measure : some demanded that they should limit themselves to deposing the King, as had been formerly done in the case of some of his predecessors ; others, though they did not openly express their wish, would have liked to dispose of him secretly, so as to gain the advantage of his death without incurring its responsibility. But the daring free-thinkers, the sincere enthusiasts, and the rigid Republicans, wished for a solemn, public trial, which should at once prove their strength and proclaim their authority.¹ Cromwell alone, who was more bent upon hastening the trial than any one else, yet disguised his wishes by hypocritical expressions. "If any one," he said, "had moved this upon design, I should think him the greatest traitor in the world ; but since Providence and necessity have cast it upon us, I pray God to bless our counsels, though I am not prepared on the sudden to give my advice."² By one of those strange but invincible scruples by which iniquity is unmasked at the very time when it is most anxious to disguise itself, the Commons, in order that they might not bring the King to trial without the existence of some law on the authority of which they might condemn him, voted the principle that it was treason on his part to make war against the Parliament ;³ and, on the motion of Scott,⁴ an ordinance

¹ Whitelocke, p. 364 ; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. vi. p. 225.

² Walker's *History of Independency*, part ii. p. 54.

³ January 2. — *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 1263.

⁴ Walker's *History of Independency*, part ii. p. 55.

was immediately adopted, by which a High Court was constituted and appointed to try him.¹ One hundred and fifty commissioners were to compose it, namely, six peers, three chief justices, eleven baronets, ten knights, six aldermen of London, and all the influential men belonging to the Independent party, in the army, the House of Commons, and the City, except St. John and Vane, who formally declared that they disapproved of the measure, and would not have any share in it. When, on the 2nd of January, the ordinance was presented to the Upper House for sanction, some independence once more appeared in that assembly, though it had been hitherto so servile, that it seemed to have consented to be treated as a nonentity. "There is no Parliament without the King," declared Lord Manchester, "therefore the King cannot commit treason against Parliament." "It has pleased the Commons," said Lord Denbigh, "to put my name to their ordinance, but I would be torn to pieces rather than take part in so infamous a business." "I do not like," said the aged Earl of Pembroke, "to meddle with affairs of life and death; and for my part I shall neither speak against the ordinance, nor consent to it;" and the twelve Lords who were present rejected it unanimously.² The Commons, receiving no message from the Lords on the following day, despatched two of their members to the Upper House to fetch its journals,³ and to learn how their ordinance had been

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 1254.

² Ibid. col. 1256.

³ Ibid.

received. On learning their decision,¹ they immediately voted that the opposition of the Lords should not check their proceedings; that the people were, under God, the origin of all just power; that the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, being chosen by and representing the people, had the supreme power in the nation; and by another ordinance,² the High Court of Justice was instituted in the name of the Commons alone, reduced to one hundred and thirty-five members,³ and ordered to assemble without delay in order to make the necessary arrangements preliminary to the trial. Accordingly they met secretly for this purpose on the 8th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 17th, 18th, and 19th of January, under the presidency of John Bradshaw, a cousin of Milton, and an eminent barrister; a man of grave and gentle manners, but of narrow and bigoted mind; a sincere though ambitious fanatic, inclined in some degree to avarice, but ready to give his life in defence of his opinions. Such was the public agitation that uncontrollable dissensions broke out even in the midst of the Court; no summons, no effort could succeed in bringing together more than fifty-eight members at the preparatory meetings. Fairfax came to the first meeting,

¹ January 4.

² January 6.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 1257.

³ The refusal of the six peers and three chief justices had reduced the original number of commissioners to 141. To these were added two lawyers, Bradshaw and Nicholas, which made it 143. But yet the second ordinance contained only 135 names; there were doubtless withdrawals or omissions of which no explanation was given. Alderman Rowland Wilson, for example, refused to take part in the trial, and his name is not found in the second list.—*Whitelocke*, p. 366.

and did not again make his appearance. And even among those who were present, some only came in order to testify their disapproval; this was the course taken by Algernon Sidney, among others, who, though then young, nevertheless had great influence in the republican party. He had for some time lived in retirement at Penshurst Castle, the seat of his father, the Earl of Leicester; but when he heard that his name had been included in the list of commissioners constituting the High Court, he immediately set out for London; and at the sittings of the 13th, 15th, and 19th of January, although the question seemed settled, he opposed the trial with all the energy he could command. He especially dreaded that the people might conceive an aversion for the Republic, and might perhaps even, by a sudden insurrection, rescue the King and destroy all chance of its establishment. When this was represented to Cromwell, he replied, "I tell you we will cut off his head with the crown upon it." "You may take your own course," replied Sidney, "I cannot stop you, but I will keep myself clean from having any hand in this business;" and he immediately left the room, and did not again return.¹ The Court now consisted of only those members who acquiesced in their mission, and merely busied itself in arranging the form of the trial. John Coke, a barrister of some repute and an intimate friend of Milton, was appointed Solicitor-General, and, as such, was to act as spokesman to the Court both in

¹ Sidney Papers, edited by Blencowe, p. 237; Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 669.

drawing up the indictment and in the course of the proceedings. Elsyng, who had, up to this time, been Clerk of the House of Commons, retired from his office under the plea of illness, and Henry Scobell was appointed to succeed him. It was carefully decided how many and what regiments should be on service during the course of the trial; where sentinels should be posted, and some were even to be placed on the leads, wherever there was any window to admit light into the room; what barriers should be erected to keep the people at a distance not only from the tribunal but also from the soldiers. It was at length appointed that the King should appear before the Court on the 20th of January, at Westminster Hall; and as early as the 17th, as if his condemnation had been already pronounced, the Commons appointed a committee to go through all the palaces, castles, and residences of the King, to draw up an exact inventory of his furniture, which was henceforth to be the property of the Parliament.¹

When Colonel Whichcott, the governor of Windsor, informed the King that, in a few days, he would be removed to London,—“God is everywhere,” answered Charles, “alike in wisdom, power, and goodness.”² The news, however, struck him with sudden and marked uneasiness. For three weeks, he had been living in the strongest sense of security, rarely and imperfectly aware of the resolutions of Parliament,

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 1259; State Trials, vol. iv. col. 1045—1067.

² Herbert's Memoirs, p. 108.

rejoicing himself with certain rumours that had reached him from Ireland, and which seemed to promise him speedy assistance, and displaying more confidence and light-heartedness than his servants had known him to exhibit for a long time. "I doubt not," he said, "but within six months, to see peace in England; and, in case of their not restoring me, to be righted from Ireland, Denmark, and other places."¹ He treated his proposed trial as a jest, saying that "he had yet three games to play, the least of which gave him hopes of regaining all."² Lately, however, one circumstance had annoyed him. Until just before the close of his residence at Windsor, he had been treated and waited upon with all the etiquette proper to a Court; he had dined, in public, in a chair of state, under a canopy; the chamberlain, the esquire-carver, and the steward, had all performed their duty, according to the wonted forms; the cup had been presented by the attendant on his knees; the dishes were brought in covered; the servants tasted them before presenting them; and he had enjoyed, with dignified satisfaction, these respectful formalities. All at once, on the reception of a letter from head-quarters, a change had taken place: soldiers brought him his dishes uncovered; they were not tasted; no one any longer presented him anything kneeling; the customary compliment of a canopy was abolished. Charles felt the bitterest mortification at this, saying, "that the respect and

¹ Whitelocke, p. 366.

² Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 669; Sidney Papers, edited by Blencowe, p. 237.

honour denied him, no sovereign prince had ever wanted, nor yet subjects of high degree, according to ancient practice. . . . Is there anything more contemptible than a despised prince?" he asked; and in order to avoid this insult, he determined to take his meals in his own room, almost alone, himself selecting two or three dishes out of the list presented to him.¹

On Friday, the 19th of January, a body of cavalry appeared at Windsor, with Harrison at their head, with orders to remove the King. A carriage with six horses, was waiting in the castle-yard. Charles entered it, and, in a few hours, was again in London, at St. James's Palace, everywhere surrounded by guards, with two sentinels at the very door of his bed-room; Herbert was his only attendant, and he slept by his bedside.²

On the next day, the 20th of January, when it was nearly noon, the High Court met first, privately, in the Painted Chamber, and settled the final details of their proceedings. The customary prayer had scarcely finished, when it was announced that the King had nearly arrived, carried in a sedan chair, and between two files of soldiers. Cromwell ran to the window, and soon returned, pale, but excited. "My masters," he said, "he is come! he is come! . . . I desire you to let us resolve here what answer we shall give the King when he comes before us; for the first question that he will ask us will be, by what authority

¹ Herbert's *Memoirs*, pp. 109—113.

² *Ibid.* p. 109; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1395; *State Trials*, vol. v. col. 1019; Nutley's evidence on Harrison's trial.

and commission we do try him." To this, none answered immediately. Then, after a little space, Henry Martyn rose up, and said, "In the name of the Commons and Parliament assembled, and all the good people of England."¹ No objection was raised; the Court proceeded in solemn procession to Westminster Hall; Lord-President Bradshaw walked at their head; the sword and mace were carried before him; sixteen officers, armed with halberds, preceded the Court. The president took his place on a chair covered with crimson velvet; at his feet, the clerk was seated at a table, with a rich Turkey cover, on which were placed the mace and the sword; on his right and left were the members of the Court on seats of scarlet cloth; at the two extremities were men-at-arms, a little in advance of the tribunal. As soon as the Court was duly seated, all the doors were opened, and a crowd of people rushed into the room: when silence was restored, the Act of the House of Commons, instituting the Court, was read, and the names were then called over; sixty-nine members were present. "Mr. Sergeant," said Bradshaw, "bring in your prisoner."²

The King appeared under the guard of Colonel Hacker and thirty-two officers: an arm-chair, covered

¹ State Trials, vol. v. col. 1201; Sir Purbeck Temple's evidence in Henry Martyn's trial.

² Most of the facts relating to this trial are taken from the two contemporary accounts in the State Trials, vol. iii. cols. 989—1154. I here therefore refer to them once for all, and shall only give special references when the incidents mentioned in the text are derived from other sources. I have taken a great many facts, and those not the least characteristic, from the report of the trials of the regicides after the Restoration in 1660.—State Trials, vol. v. cols. 947—1363.

with crimson velvet, had been placed for him at the bar ; he advanced, gazed on the tribunal with a long and stern look, seated himself in the chair without taking off his hat, suddenly rose again, looked behind him at the guard who stood on the left, and at the crowd of spectators on the right of the hall, fixed his eyes once again on his judges, and then sat down, amidst universal silence.

Bradshaw rose instantly, and said, " Charles Stuart, King of England : The Commons of England being deeply sensible of the calamities that have been brought upon this nation, which are fixed upon you as the principal author of them, have resolved to make inquisition for blood ; and, according to that debt and duty they owe to justice, to God, the kingdom, and themselves, they have resolved to bring you to trial and judgment, and for that purpose, have constituted this High Court of Justice, before which you are brought." He then ordered the charges to be read.

Coke, the Solicitor-General, then rose up to speak. " Hold ! hold !" said the King, touching him with his cane on the shoulder ; in doing so, the gold head dropped from the King's cane ; a brief but most significant change passed over his features ; no one of his servants was at hand to pick up the head for him ; he therefore stooped, took it up himself, and sat down. Coke read the bill of indictment which, after imputing to the King all the evils that had sprung from his tyranny, as well as those that had been caused by the war, demanded that he should be bound to answer to

the charges, and that justice should be executed on him as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer.

While this was being read, the King still remained seated, and looked quietly about, sometimes at the judges, sometimes at the people; once, for a moment, he rose, turned his back to the tribunal, and looked behind him, and then resumed his seat with an air of unconcerned curiosity. Only at the words which declared him to be "a tyrant, traitor, and murderer," he smiled faintly, but said nothing.

The charge having been read, Bradshaw addressed the King: "Sir," he said, "you have now heard your charge. The Court expects your answer."

THE KING.—"I would know by what power I am called hither; I was, not long ago, in the Isle of Wight, and there I entered into a treaty with both Houses of Parliament, with as much public faith as it is possible to be had of any people in the world; and we were upon the conclusion of the treaty. Now I would know by what authority, I mean lawful—there are many unlawful authorities in the world, thieves and robbers by the highway—but I would know by what authority I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, and I know not what; and when I know what lawful authority, I shall answer."

BRADSHAW.—"If you had been pleased to observe what was hinted to you by the Court at your first coming hither, you would have known by what authority; which authority requires you, in the name of the people of England, of which you are elected king, to answer."

THE KING.—“No, sir, I deny that.”

BRADSHAW.—“If you acknowledge not the authority of the Court, they must proceed.”

THE KING.—“I do tell them so; England was never an elective kingdom, but an hereditary kingdom, for near these thousand years: therefore let me know by what authority I am called hither. Here is a gentleman, Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett, ask him if he did not bring me from the Isle of Wight by force. I will stand as much for the privilege of the House of Commons, rightly understood, as any man whatsoever. I see no House of Lords here, that may constitute a Parliament,¹ and the King, too, should have been in it. Is this the bringing of a King to his Parliament?”

BRADSHAW.—“The Court expects you should give them a final answer. If you do not satisfy yourself, though we tell you our authority, we are satisfied with our authority, and it is upon God’s authority and the kingdom’s.”

THE KING.—“It is not my apprehension, nor your’s either, that ought to decide it.”

BRADSHAW.—“The Court hath heard you, and you are to be disposed of as they have commanded.”

The Court then adjourned till Monday, and the King was removed, attended by the same escort as he had when he entered. As he rose, he looked at the sword which was placed on the table. “I do not fear that,” he said, pointing to it with his cane. As he descended the staircase, some voices were heard crying out “Justice! Justice!” But most of the people

¹ State Trials, vol. v. col. 1081; Nutley’s evidence against Cook.

shouted, "God save the King! God save your Majesty."

When the Court resumed its sittings, on the following day, sixty-two members were present, and it was ordered that strict silence should be observed, under pain of imprisonment. The King, however, on his arrival, was received with loud acclamations. The same dispute was resumed with equal obstinacy on both sides. "Sir," said Bradshaw at last, "neither you nor any man are permitted to dispute that point; you are concluded [overruled]; you may not demur to the jurisdiction of the Court. They sit here by the authority of the Commons of England, and all your predecessors and you are responsible to them."

THE KING.—"I deny that, show me one precedent."

Bradshaw sate down in an angry manner: "Sir," said he, "we sit not here to answer your questions. Plead to your charge—guilty, or not guilty?"¹

THE KING.—"You never heard my reasons yet."

BRADSHAW.—"Sir, your reasons are not to be heard against the highest jurisdiction."

THE KING.—"Show me that jurisdiction where reason is not to be heard."

BRADSHAW.—"Sir, we show it you here—the Commons of England. Sergeant, take away the prisoner."

The King then turned round to the people and said, "Remember that the King of England suffers, being not permitted to give his reasons, for the liberty of the

¹ State Trials, vol. v. col. 1086; in the trials of the regicides: especially John Horne's evidence against Cook.

people." With that a great shout came from the people—"God save the King!"¹

On the next day, the 23rd of January, the same scenes were repeated: the sympathy of the people for the King became stronger every day; in vain did the irritated officers and soldiers attempt to get up a counter cry of "Justice! Execution!" The intimidated crowd were silent for a moment; but soon, on the occurrence of any new incident, they forgot their terror, and cries of "God save the King!" resounded from all sides. They were even heard in the ranks of the army. On the 23rd, as the King passed out on the rising of the Court, a soldier of the guard cried loudly, "God bless you, sir!" An officer struck him with his cane, on which the King remarked, that "the punishment exceeded the offence."² At the same time representations came from abroad, not very formidable in their character, it is true, and often indeed not very urgent, but still sufficient to sustain the popular indignation. On the 3rd of January, the French minister forwarded to the Commons a letter from the Queen, Henrietta Maria, who entreated permission to rejoin her husband, that she might endeavour to induce him to yield to their wishes, or minister consolation to him by her tenderness.³ The Prince of Wales wrote to Fairfax and the council of officers, in the hope of awakening in their minds some sentiment of loyalty.⁴ The Scottish Commissioners

¹ State Trials, vol. v. col. 1086; in the trials of the regicides; especially John Horne's evidence against Cook.

² Herbert's Memoirs, p. 118.

³ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vi. pp. 213, 214.

⁴ Ibid.

protested officially, in the name of that kingdom, against the whole proceedings.¹ The announcement was received that an ambassador extraordinary from the States-General of Holland would speedily arrive, to interfere on behalf of the King. John Cromwell, an officer in the service of Holland, and cousin to Oliver, was already in London, overwhelming the Lieutenant-General with reproaches which almost amounted to threats.² Proof impressions of a manuscript, entitled "Royal Sighs," said to be the work of the King himself, and calculated to excite an insurrection in his favour were discovered and seized.³ On all sides, great obstacles, or new causes of excitement arose; but these would certainly disappear, so the Republicans flattered themselves, as soon as the grand question was settled, although so long as it remained undecided, they daily increased the perils and embarrassments of their party.

They accordingly resolved to release themselves at once from this position, to cut short all suspense, and not to allow the King to appear any more, except to receive his sentence. Whether from a lingering respect for legal forms, or that they might, if need were, produce new proofs of Charles's bad faith in his negotiations, the Court employed the 24th and 25th of January in receiving the depositions of thirty-two witnesses. On the 25th, at the close of their sitting, almost without debate, they voted the condemnation

¹ January 6 and 22.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 1277 *et seq.*

² Banks' Critical Review, p. 103; Mark Noble's *Memoirs of the Protectoral House*, vol. i. p. 60 *et seq.*; Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 119.

³ The work known subsequently under the title of *Ἐκὼν βασιλική*.

of the King as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and enemy to his country. Scott, Martyn, Harrison, Lisle, Say, Ireton, and Love, were appointed to draw up the sentence. Only forty-six members attended on that day. On the 26th, sixty-two members being present, the form of the sentence was debated and adopted, with closed doors. The Court adjourned till the next day before pronouncing judgment.

At noon, on the 27th, after two hours' conference in the Painted Chamber, the sitting was opened, as usual, by calling over the names. At the name of Fairfax, a female voice in the gallery answered "that he had too much wit to be there." After a moment's surprise and hesitation,¹ the reading of names was proceeded with: sixty-seven members were present. When the King entered the room, a violent cry of "Execution! Justice! Execution!" was raised. The soldiers were very energetic in their cries; some of the officers who were in command, Axtell especially, encouraged them to shout; some scattered groups in different parts of the room joined in these clamours, but the crowd remained silent, terrified, and bewildered.

"Sir," said the King to Bradshaw, before sitting down, "I desire a word to be heard a little, and I hope I shall give no occasion of interruption."

BRADSHAW.—"You may answer in your turn; hear the Court first."

THE KING.—"If it please you, sir, I desire to be heard. It is only in a word. A sudden judgment—"

¹ State Trials, vol. v. cols. 1146—1151; Axtell's trial.

BRADSHAW.—“Sir, you shall be heard in due time; but you are to hear the Court first.”

THE KING.—“Sir, I desire—it will be in order to what I believe the Court will say. A hasty judgment is not so soon recalled.”

BRADSHAW.—“Sir, you shall be heard before the judgment is passed. In the meantime you may forbear.”

On hearing this, an expression of serenity appeared once more on the King's countenance; he sat down, and Bradshaw proceeded:—

“Gentlemen,” said he, “it is well known to you all that the prisoner at the bar hath been several times convened and brought before this Court to make answer to a charge of treason and other high crimes, exhibited against him, in the name of the people of England.”

“It's a lie! not one-half of them!” exclaimed the same voice that had answered to the name of Fairfax. “Where are they or their consent? Oliver Cromwell is a traitor!”

The whole assembly was startled; all eyes were turned towards the gallery. “Down with the w—!” cried Axtell. “Shoot them.” The speaker was found to be Lady Fairfax.¹

General agitation now prevailed; the soldiers, though numerous and threatening, had great difficulty in suppressing it. At length order was somewhat re-established. Bradshaw then referred to the King's

¹ State Trials, vol. v. col. 1160; Evidence of Sir Purbeck Temple; Whitelocks, p. 371, erroneously represents this to have taken place at the sitting of the 23rd of January.

obstinate refusal to reply to the accusation, the notoriety of the crimes imputed to him, and declared that the Court, although agreed as to the sentence, would yet consent to hear the prisoner's defence before they pronounced it, provided he would refrain from disputing its jurisdiction.

"I desire," said the King, "that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber; for it is not my person that I look on alone—it is the kingdom's welfare and the kingdom's peace."

Intense agitation was caused in the Court and throughout the assembly by this speech. All, whether friends or enemies, were curious to learn what end the King could have in requesting this interview with the two Houses, and what he might have to propose to them. A thousand different reports were spread; most persons seemed to think that he wished to abdicate the crown in favour of his son. But whatever it might be, the embarrassment of the Court was extreme. The Republican party, notwithstanding its triumph, did not feel itself in a position either to lose time or to run new risks; even among the judges themselves, some hesitation was visible. In order to escape from the difficulty, Bradshaw maintained that the request of the King was only an artifice, to enable him to evade for a longer time the jurisdiction of the Court; and a long and tedious debate arose on the subject. Charles continued with greater vehemence to insist on being heard; but every time he did so, the soldiers around him became more tumultuous and abusive; some lit their pipes and puffed the smoke in his face;

others complained in coarse terms of the length of the trial; Axtell laughed and joked aloud. In vain did the King turn round repeatedly towards them, and attempt by gesticulations or by speech to obtain a few moments of attention, or at least of silence; they only answered him by cries of "Justice! Execution!" At length, almost beside himself with perplexity, he exclaimed, in tones of passionate entreaty, "Hear me! hear me!" The same cries were renewed;¹ but an unexpected movement appeared among the ranks of the Court. Colonel Downs, one of the members, was struggling to rise from his seat. Lawley and Colonel Wauton, who were sitting on each side of him, in vain attempted to restrain him. "Have we hearts of stone?" said he. "Are we men?" His friends remonstrated with him on the folly of his proceeding. "No matter," replied Downs; "if I die for it, I must do it." On hearing this, Cromwell, who was sitting beneath him, suddenly turned round, and vehemently asked, "Are you yourself? What do you mean that you cannot be quiet?" "Sir," replied Downs, "I cannot be quiet;" and he immediately rose and said to the President, "My lord, I am not satisfied to give my consent to this sentence, but have reasons to offer to you against it; and I desire the Court may adjourn to hear me, and deliberate." "If any one of the Court," gravely answered Bradshaw, "be unsatisfied, the Court must adjourn;" and they all passed immediately into an adjoining room.²

¹ State Trials, vol. v. cols. 1150—1151.

² Ibid. col. 1213.

They were no sooner there than Cromwell roughly addressed the Colonel, and charged him with the responsibility of the difficulty and embarrassment which he had brought upon the Court. Downs defended himself with agitation, urging that the proposals of the King might possibly prove satisfactory; that, after all, what they had sought, and were still seeking, was good and solid guarantees; that they ought not to refuse what the King wished to offer without knowing what it was; and that the least they owed him was to hear him, and to respect, in his person, the most ordinary rules of common justice. Cromwell listened to him with rude impatience, moving round him as he was speaking, and interrupting him whenever he could find an opportunity. When Downs had ended, he said "That now he saw what great reason the gentleman had to put such a trouble and disturbance upon them; sure he doth not know that he hath to do with the hardest-hearted man that lives upon the earth. However, it is not fit that the Court should be hindered from their duty by one peevish man. The bottom of all this is known — he would fain save his old master;" and Cromwell desired the Court, without any more delay, to do their duty. In vain did Colonel Harvey and some others support Downs in his proposition; the discussion was promptly stifled. At the end of half an hour, the Court resumed its sitting, and Bradshaw told the King that they had rejected his proposal.¹

¹ State Trials, vol. v. cols. 1197, 1205, 1211, 1218; in the trials of Harvey, Robert Lilburne, Downs, and Wayte, and according to the account of the accused themselves. See also Whitelocke, p. 372.

Charles seemed quite overcome, and could only feebly repeat his request. "If you have nothing more to say," said Bradshaw, "we shall proceed to sentence." "Sir, I have nothing more to say," replied the King; "but I shall desire that what I have said may be registered." Bradshaw, without answering, told the King that he was now to hear his sentence. Before reading it, he addressed to the King a long discourse—a solemn apology for the Parliament's conduct: he recounted all the faults of which the King had been guilty, and referred all the evils of the civil war to him alone, since his tyranny had rendered resistance a duty as well as a necessity. The language of the speaker was severe and bitter, but grave, pious, free from insult, and expressive of an evidently profound conviction, although mingled with something of a vindictive character. The King listened to him without interruption, and with equal gravity. Still, as the discourse drew towards its close, visible agitation took possession of him; and as soon as Bradshaw had finished speaking, he attempted himself to speak. Bradshaw would not permit this, but ordered the clerk to read the sentence. When it was finished, Bradshaw said, "The sentence now read and published is the act, sentence, judgment, and resolution of the whole Court;" and the whole Court rose in token of assent.

"Sir," said the King, suddenly, "will you hear me a word?"

BRADSHAW.—"Sir, you are not to be heard after sentence."

THE KING.—“No, sir?”

BRADSHAW.—“No, sir; by your favour, sir. Guards, withdraw your prisoner!”

THE KING.—“I may speak after sentence; by your favour, sir, I may speak after my sentence, ever. By your favour—”

“Hold!” said Bradshaw.

“The sentence, sir—I say, sir, I do—I am not suffered to speak. Expect what justice other people will have!”

At this moment, the soldiers surrounded him, removed him from the bar, and conveyed him with violence as far as the place where his sedan-chair was waiting for him. He had, while descending the staircase, to endure the grossest insults: some threw their lighted pipes before him as he passed; others blew the smoke of their tobacco into his face; all shouted in his ears, “Justice! Execution!”¹ Amid these cries, however, others were still to be heard occasionally from the people, “God save your Majesty! God deliver your Majesty out of such enemies’ hands!” And until he was seated in the chair, the bearers of it remained with their heads uncovered, notwithstanding the commands of Axtell, who even went so far as to strike them for their disobedience. They set out for Whitehall: on both sides, the way was lined with

¹ State Trials, vol. v. col. 1151; Axtell’s trial. In the trial of Augustus Garland, one of the judges, a witness stated that he had seen him spit in the face of the King at the foot of the staircase (*ibid.* col. 1215). Garland absolutely denied this, and the judges did not insist upon it. Neither does Herbert, who accompanied the king, refer to it. I do not therefore feel bound to regard it as authentic, although Warwick, who had from Bishop Juxon nearly all the details which he has inserted in his *Memoirs*, expressly affirmed it.—*Memoirs*, p. 291.

troops; before all the shops, doors, and windows, there were crowds of people, most of them silent, some weeping, some praying aloud for the King. The soldiers incessantly renewed their cries of "Justice! justice! Execution! execution!" in order to celebrate their triumph. But Charles had recovered his wonted serenity, and, too haughty to believe in the sincerity of their hatred, he said as he came out of his chair, "Poor souls! for a piece of money they would do so for their commanders!"¹

As soon as he reached Whitehall, he said to Herbert, "Hark ye! my nephew the prince elector will endeavour to see me, and some other lords that love me: which I should take in good part; but my time is short and precious, and I am desirous to improve it as best I may in preparation. I hope they will not take it ill that none have access now to me but my children. The best office they can do me is to pray for me." He then sent a request that his young children, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, who remained under the care of the Parliament, might come to him; he also sent for Juxon, the bishop of London, whose assistance he had already obtained through the intervention of Hugh Peters. Both requests were granted. The next day, the 28th, the bishop came to St. James's, whither the King had just been transferred. When he first met the King again, he burst into uncontrollable lamentations. "Leave off this, my lord," said Charles, "we have not time for it; let us think of our great work, and

¹ State Trials, vol. iv. col. 1130.—Herbert's Memoirs, p. 118.

prepare to meet that great God, to whom, ere long, I am to give an account of myself; and I hope I shall do it with peace, and that you will assist me therein. We will not talk of these rogues, in whose hands I am; they thirst after my blood, and they will have it; and God's will be done! I thank God I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more." He passed the rest of the day in pious conference with the bishop: it was with great difficulty that he had obtained permission to be left alone in his room, in which Colonel Hacker had previously placed two soldiers; and, during Juxon's visit, the sentinel on guard before his door kept opening it every few minutes, in order to assure himself that the King was still there. As he had anticipated, his nephew the Prince Elector, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, and some others of his oldest adherents, came with the hope of seeing him, but they were not admitted. Mr. Seymour, a gentleman in the service of the Prince of Wales, arrived the same day from the Hague,¹ bringing a letter from the prince; the King gave orders that he should come in, read the letter, cast it into the fire, gave the messenger his reply, and dismissed him immediately. On the next day, the 29th, almost at daybreak, the bishop returned to St. James's. When morning prayers were over, the King brought out a box containing broken crosses

¹ According to the deposition of Tomlinson (*State Trials*, vol. v. col. 1197) it was on the day of his death, and at Whitehall, that the King received Seymour. I have preferred to follow Herbert's account in his *Memoirs*, p. 126.

of St. George and the order of the Garter: "You see," said he to Juxon and Herbert, "all the wealth now in my power to give to my two children." They were brought to him. The Princess Elizabeth, who was twelve years old, on seeing her father, burst into tears; the Duke of Gloucester, who was only eight, wept when he saw the tears of his sister. Charles took them on his knee, shared his jewels among them, comforted his daughter, gave her counsels as to the books she should read in order to fortify her mind against Popery, charged them to tell their brothers that he had forgiven his enemies, and their mother that his thoughts never wandered from her, and that he would love her up to the last moment as he had loved her on their marriage-day. Then turning to the little duke, "My dear heart," he said, "they will soon cut off thy father's head." The child looked stedfastly at him, with a very serious air. "Mark, child, what I say: they will cut off my head and perhaps make thee King; but mark what I say, thou must not be king so long as thy brothers Charles and James live; but they will cut off thy brothers' heads if they can catch them; and thine, too, they will cut off at last! Therefore, I charge thee, do not be made a king by them." "I will be torn in pieces first," replied the child, with great fervour. Charles kissed him passionately; placed him on the ground, kissed his daughter, blessed them both, and prayed God to bless them; then suddenly rising, "Have them taken away," he said to Juxon. The children sobbed. The King, standing upright, resting his

head against the window, repressed his tears; the door was opened, and the children were about to leave him. Charles hastily left the window, took them again in his arms, blessed them once more, and, tearing himself at length from their caresses, fell on his knees and prayed with the bishop and Herbert, the sole witnesses of this affecting farewell.¹

That same morning, the High Court had met again and fixed the next day, Tuesday, January 30th, between ten and five o'clock, as the time for the execution. When it was necessary to sign the fatal order there was great difficulty in gathering the Commissioners together; in vain did two or three of the most passionate station themselves at the door of the room, stopping those of their colleagues who were passing by on their way to the House of Commons, and summoning them to sign their names.² Several even of those who had voted for the King's condemnation took care to keep out of the way or expressly refused to sign. Cromwell, who alone was gay, noisy, and reckless, indulged in extraordinary outbursts of his accustomed buffoonery. After having written his name third on the list, he smeared with ink the face of Henry Martyn, who was sitting near him: Martyn instantly returned the compliment. Colonel Ingoldsby, his cousin, whose name was included in the list of judges, but who had not attended the sittings of the Court, came by chance into the room. "As soon

¹ Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 123—130; Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 292; Rushworth, part iv. vol. ii. p. 1398; *Journals of the House of Commons*, January 20.

² *State Trials*, vol. iv. col. 1219; Thomas Wayte's trial.

as Cromwell's eyes were upon him, he ran to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the table, and said, though he had escaped him all the time before, he should now sign that paper as well as they; which he, seeing what it was, refused with great passion, saying he knew nothing of the business, and offered to go away. But Cromwell and others held him by violence; and Cromwell, with loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand wrote 'Richard Ingoldsby,' he making all the resistance he could."¹ Fifty-nine names were at length collected; many of the signatures were scrawled so obscurely, either through agitation or from design, that it was impossible to decipher them. The order was addressed to Colonel Hacker, Colonel Huncks, and Lieutenant-Colonel Phayre, who had been intrusted with the execution of the sentence. Hitherto, Albert Joachim and Adrian de Pauw, ambassadors extraordinary from the States-General, who had arrived in London five days before, had in vain solicited an audience with the Parliament; neither their official request, nor their visits to Fairfax, Cromwell, and other officers, had enabled them to obtain an interview. They were now, at one o'clock, suddenly informed, that they would be received at two o'clock by the Lords, and at three by the Commons. They hastened to present themselves, and duly delivered their message; a reply was promised them, but on their way back to their

¹ Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 206; Mark Noble's *Memoirs of the Protectoral House*, vol. i. p. 118.

lodgings they saw preparations for the execution beginning to be made opposite Whitehall. They had received visits from the French and Spanish ministers, but neither would join in their proceedings; the former contented himself with protesting that he had for a long time foreseen this deplorable issue, and had done all he could to avert it; the second said that he had not yet received from his Court any directions to interfere, although he was every moment expecting them. Next day, the 30th, about midday, a second interview with Fairfax, at the house of his secretary, had given the two Dutch ambassadors some fresh gleams of hope; he was moved by their representations, and appearing resolved at length to quit his neutral position of inactivity, had promised to go down to the Parliament immediately, and solicit at least a reprieve. But as they left him, in front of the house in which they had been conversing with him, the two ambassadors met a body of cavalry clearing the way. All the approaches to Whitehall, and all the adjoining streets were filled by soldiers; on all sides they heard the people say that everything was ready, and that the King would not keep them waiting long.¹

¹ These particulars are taken from the Correspondence of the Ambassadors themselves with the States-General (in their despatches of the 9th and 15th of February, new style), of which his Majesty the King of the Netherlands has graciously permitted me to take a copy. All the documents of this important correspondence, will be found literally translated, among the historical documents appended to this volume (Appendix IX.). These documents prove how erroneous, notwithstanding Herbert's testimony in his *Memoirs* (p. 143)—though Godwin is wrong in suspecting Herbert in other matters (see Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. 681)—is the narrative, which has

Early in the morning, in a room at Whitehall, by the side of the bed in which Ireton and Harrison were still lying together, Cromwell, Hacker, Huncks, Axtell, and Phayre, had met to arrange and despatch the last act of this tragical proceeding,—the order, namely, which had to be given to the executioner. “Colonel,” said Cromwell to Huncks, “it is you who must write and sign it.” Huncks obstinately refused. “Thou art a peevish fellow!” said Cromwell. “Colonel Huncks,” said Axtell, “I am ashamed of you; the ship is now coming into the harbour, and will you strike sail before we come to anchor?” Huncks persisted in his refusal; Cromwell sat down, grumbling at his obstinacy, wrote the order himself, and presented it to Colonel Hacker, who signed it without objection.¹

Almost at the same moment, after four hours’ profound sleep, Charles rose from his bed. “I have a great work to do this day,” said he to Herbert, “I must get up immediately;” and he commenced his toilet. Herbert, in his agitation, combed his hair with less care than usual. “I pray you,” said the King, “though my head be not long to stand on my shoulders, take the same pains with it as you were wont to do. This is my second marriage-day. I would be as trim to-day as may be; for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus.” As he was

been followed by nearly all historians, representing that Ireton and Harrison passed this time in prayer with Fairfax, in order to conceal from him what was going on.

¹ State Trials, vol. v. cols. 1148, 1180; trials of Axtell and Hacker.

dressing, he asked to have an extra shirt: "The season is so sharp," he said, "as probably may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation; I fear not death; death is not terrible to me. I bless my God that I am prepared." Shortly after daybreak Bishop Juxon arrived, and commenced the religious exercises of the day. As he was reading the narrative of Christ's passion, in the twenty-seventh chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, the King asked him "if he had made choice of that chapter as being applicable to his present condition." "May it please your Majesty," replied the bishop, "it is the proper lesson for the day, as appears by the calendar." The King appeared deeply moved, and continued his devotions with renewed fervour. About ten o'clock, a gentle knock was heard at the door of his room. Herbert did not move; the knock was repeated, and this time it was louder, though still gentle. The King directed him to go and see who was there. It was Colonel Hacker. "Let him come in," said the King. The Colonel told him, in a low faltering voice, "that it was time to go to Whitehall, but he would have some further time to rest there." Charles replied that he would go directly. Hacker went out; the King remained in meditation a few minutes longer; then, taking the bishop's hand, "Come," said he, "let us go; Herbert, open the door, Hacker has given us a second warning;" and he went into the park, which he had to cross before reaching Whitehall.¹

Several companies of infantry were drawn up in the

¹ Herbert's Memoirs, p. 133—140; Warwick's Memoirs, p. 293.

park, and formed a double line on his passage; a detachment of halberdiers marched in front, with flying banners; drums were beating,—their noise drowned all other sounds. At the King's right hand was the bishop; on his left was Colonel Tomlinson, the commander of the guard. His head was uncovered, and Charles was so moved with the marks of respect which he showed, that he requested him not to move from his side till the last moment. Charles conversed with him on the way, spoke of his funeral, and of the persons to whom he desired the care of it should be intrusted: his whole air was indicative of calmness and serenity; his look was steady and penetrating; his step was firm, and he walked even more quickly than the soldiers, expressing surprise at their slow pace. One of the officers, doubtless expecting that what he said would annoy the King, asked him if he had not conspired with the late Duke of Buckingham to procure the death of the king, his father. "Friend," answered Charles, with scornful mildness, "if I had no other sin,—I speak it with reverence to God's Majesty,—I assure thee I should never ask Him pardon." On arriving at Whitehall, he mounted the stairs with a light step, passed along the great gallery, and entered his bedroom, where he was left alone with the bishop, who had prepared to administer the Sacrament. Some Independent ministers, Nye and Goodwin, among others, knocked at his door, saying that they desired to offer their services to the King. The bishop replied by telling them that the King was at his own private devotions. They still pressed their services. "Then thank them from me," said Charles

to the bishop, "for the tender of themselves; but tell them plainly that they, that have so often and causelessly prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony. They may, if they please, pray for me, and I'll thank them for it." They retired. The King kneeled, received the holy communion from the bishop's hands, and rising from his knees, with a cheerful and steady countenance, "Now," said he, "let the rogues come; I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo." His dinner had been prepared, but he had resolved to touch nothing after the Sacrament; the bishop expostulated with him, reminded him how long he had fasted, how severe the weather was, and how some fit of fainting might seize him upon the scaffold, which he knew he would regret, on account of the interpretation his murderers would put upon it. The King yielded to these representations, and took a piece of bread and a glass of claret. At one o'clock, Hacker knocked at the door. The bishop and Herbert fell upon their knees, weeping. The King gave them his hand to kiss, and helped the bishop to rise, for he was aged. Colonel Hacker still stood at the chamber door; the King took notice of it, and said, "Open the door," and bade Hacker go forward, saying that he would follow. A guard was placed all along the galleries and in the banqueting-hall as he passed, but behind the soldiers many men and women had crowded in, though with some peril to their persons, and were praying for the King as he passed; the soldiers not rebuking any of them, but, by their silence and dejected faces, seeming afflicted rather than insulting.

At the end of the hall, an opening had been made on the previous evening through the wall, which led directly to the scaffold, which was hung with black ; on it were standing, near the axe, two men in the costume of sailors, with masks on their faces. The King walked out of the hall to the scaffold, with his head erect, looking about him on all sides for the people, intending to speak to them ; but the space all round was filled with troops, so that no one could approach. He turned towards Juxon and Tomlinson, and said, "I shall be very little heard of anybody else ; I shall, therefore, speak a word to you here," and accordingly he addressed to them a short speech that he had prepared ; it was grave and calm, even to frigidity, its sole object being to maintain that he was in the right,—that contempt for the rights of the sovereign had been the true cause of the miseries of the people,—that the people ought to have no share in the government,—and that on this condition only would the kingdom recover its liberties and tranquillity. While he was speaking, some one touched the axe. He turned round hastily, saying, "Do not hurt the axe that may hurt me." And after his address was finished, some one again approached it. "Take heed of the axe ! pray, take heed of the axe !" he repeated in a tone of alarm. The profoundest silence prevailed ; he put a silk cap on his head, and, addressing the executioner, said, "Does my hair trouble you ?" The man begged his Majesty to put it under his cap. The King so arranged it, with the help of the bishop. "I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side," said he, while doing this.

"There is but one stage more," said Juxon; "the stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one; but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven."

"I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be," answered the King; and, turning towards the executioner, he said, "Is my hair well?" He took off his cloak and George, and gave them to the bishop, saying at the same time "Remember!" It was never known to what this injunction referred. He then took off his coat, put on his cloak again, and looking at the block, said to the executioner, "You must set it fast." "It is fast, sir," was the reply. The King told him to wait while he offered up a short prayer; "When I put out my hands this way," said he, stretching them out, "then——." He passed a few minutes in meditation, uttering a few words in a low tone of voice, raised his eyes to heaven, kneeled, placed his head on the block: the executioner touched his hair in order to put it more completely under his cap; the King thought he intended to strike. "Stay for the sign," he said. "Yes, I will, an't please your Majesty," said the man. After an instant, the King stretched out his hands; the axe fell, and his head was severed from his body at a single blow. "Behold the head of a traitor!" cried the executioner, holding it up to the view of the people; a long, deep groan rose from the multitude; many rushed to the foot of the scaffold in order to dip their handkerchiefs in the King's blood. Two bodies of cavalry, advancing in different directions, slowly dispersed the crowd. The scaffold was cleared, and the body was taken away. It was already enclosed in the coffin, when Cromwell

desired to see it : he looked at it attentively, raised the head with his own hands as if to assure himself that it was really severed from the trunk, and remarked upon the sound and vigorous appearance of the body, which he said, promised a long life.¹

The coffin remained at Whitehall for seven days, exposed to public view : an immense concourse of people pressed to the door, but few obtained permission to enter. On the 6th of February, by the order of the Commons, it was delivered to Herbert and Mildmay, who were authorised to bury it in St. George's Chapel, in Windsor Castle, in a vault which also contains the remains of Henry VIII. The funeral procession was decent but not pompous. Six horses, covered with black cloth, drew the hearse ; four carriages followed, two of which, also covered with black cloth, carried those faithful servants who had attended upon the King in his last hours, and those who had accompanied him to the Isle of Wight. On the next day, the 8th of February, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, and Bishop Juxon, arrived at Windsor, having come with the consent of the Commons to attend the funeral. These words only were engraved on the coffin :

CHARLES, REX.

1648.²

As they were removing the body from the interior

¹ Warwick's Memoirs, p. 342, *et seq.* ; Herbert's Memoirs, p. 114, *et seq.* ; State Trials, vol. iv. cols. 1135—1142 ; Mark Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House, vol. i. p. 118.

² Old Style. The year in England began at that time on the 24th of March, as it had not yet been arranged according to the Gregorian calendar. Therefore the 30th of January, 1648, the day of Charles's death, corresponds to the 9th of February, 1649, in our year.

of the castle to the chapel, the weather, which until then had been clear and serene, suddenly changed; snow fell abundantly; the black velvet pall was entirely covered with it, and the servants of the King were pleased to see, in the sudden whiteness that covered their unfortunate master's coffin, a symbol of his innocence. The procession arrived at the spot selected for sepulture, and Bishop Juxon was preparing to officiate according to the rites of the Anglican church, when Whichcott, the governor of the castle, objected "that it was improbable the Parliament would permit the use of what they had so totally abolished, and therein destroy their own act," and he would not permit the service to be so performed. They submitted; no religious ceremony took place, the coffin was lowered into the vault, all left the chapel, and the governor closed the doors. The House of Commons had an account of the expenses of the funeral laid before them, and allowed five hundred pounds to pay them.¹ On the very day of the King's death, before any messenger had left London, they published an ordinance declaring any one to be a traitor who should proclaim in his place, and as his successor, "Charles Stuart, his son, commonly called Prince of Wales, or any other person whatever."² On the 6th of February, after a long debate, and in spite of the opposition of twenty-nine voices against a majority consisting of forty-four members, the House of Lords was formally abolished.³ Finally, on the 7th, a bill was adopted

¹ Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 144; *State Trials*, vol. iv. col. 1142.

² *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii. col. 1281.

³ *Ibid.* col. 1284.

which ran in these terms: "Whereas it hath been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation and Ireland, and to have the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people, and that, for the most part, use hath been made of the royal power and prerogative, to oppress, impoverish, and enslave the subject, and that, usually and naturally, any one person in such power, makes it his interest to encroach upon the just freedom and liberty of the subject, and to set up his own will and power above the laws: Be it therefore enacted and ordained, That the office of a king in this nation shall not henceforth reside in, or be exercised by, any one single person, and that no one person whatsoever shall or may have or hold the office, style, title, dignity, power, or authority, of the said kingdoms and dominions, or any of them."¹ And a new Great Seal was engraved,² bearing on one side the map of England and Ireland, with the arms of the two countries, and on the reverse a representation of the House of Commons in session, with this motto, suggested by Henry Martyn—"The first year of liberty restored by the blessing of God, 1648."

¹ Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 1285.

² The order was given on the 9th of January.—Parliamentary History, vol. iii. col. 1258.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

(Page 25.)

EMPLOYMENT OF CATHOLICS IN THE KING'S ARMIES.

So early as the 23rd of September, 1642—that is to say at the very commencement of the civil war, and before the battle of Edgehill—the king wrote in the following terms to the Earl of Newcastle:—

“ Newcastle—This is to tell you that this rebellion has grown to that height, that I must not looke what opinion men ar who, at this tyme, ar willing to serve me. Therefore, I do not only permit, but command you, to make use of all my loving subjects, without examining their conscienses, (more than their loyalty to me,) as you shall finde most to conduce to the uphoulding of my just regal rights.”—*Brodie's History of the British Empire*, vol. iii. p. 489, *note*.

APPENDIX II.

(Page 55.)

PETITION AGAINST PEACE PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, AUGUST 7, 1643, FROM THE COMMON COUNCIL OF LONDON.

“ SHOWETH that your petitioners, having heard that such propositions and offers have been lately sent from the House of Peers to this honourable House, which (as we greatly fear), if yielded unto, would be destructive to our religion, laws, and liberties; and finding already by experience, that the spirits of all the well-affected party in the city and counties adjacent, that are willing to assist the Parliament, both in person and purse, are much dejected thereat; and the

brotherly assistance from Scotland, as well as the raising and maintaining of forces ourselves, thereby likely to be retarded (all which the petitioners refer to your serious consideration); and considering our present sad condition lies upon us in a special manner, through the incensed patience of the Almighty, by delay and want of execution of justice upon traitors and delinquents, and having an opportunity yet to speak, our desires are :

“That you would be pleased so to persist in your former resolutions, whereupon the people have so much depended, and wherein you have so deeply engaged yourselves (though you should perish in the work), that justice may be done upon offenders and delinquents. And that since we are as willing as ever to expose what we are and have for the crowning of so good a cause, you will be pleased, by speedy passing the ordinance hereto annexed, or one to this effect, to put us into a probable way for our and your defence, wherein your petitioners will, by the blessing of God, never be wanting.”

To this petition was annexed the draft of an ordinance for empowering a committee to enlist men and receive subscriptions from such as might offer them.—*Rushworth*, part iii. vol. ii. p. 356.

APPENDIX III.

(Page 56.)

PETITION IN FAVOUR OF PEACE PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, AUGUST 9, 1643, BY THE WOMEN OF LONDON.

“SHOWETH that your poor petitioners (though of the weaker sex) do too sensibly perceive the ensuing desolation of this kingdom, unless by some timely means your honours provide for the speedy recovery hereof. Your honours are the physicians that can, by God’s special and miraculous blessing (which we humbly implore), restore this languishing nation, and our bleeding sister, the kingdom of Ireland, which hath now almost breathed her last gasp.

“We need not dictate to your eagle-eyed judgment the way ; our only desire is, that God’s glory in the true reformed

Protestant religion may be preserved, the just prerogatives and privileges of King and Parliament maintained, the true liberties and properties of the subjects, according to the known laws of the land, restored, and all honourable ways and means for a speedy peace endeavoured.

"May it therefore please your honours, that some speedy course may be taken for the settlement of the true reformed Protestant religion, for the glory of God and the renovation of trade, for the benefit of the subjects, they being the soul and body of the kingdom.

"And your petitioners, with many millions of afflicted souls, groaning under the burden of these times of distress, shall ever pray."—*Rushworth*, part iii., vol. ii. p. 357.

APPENDIX IV.

(Page 102.)

A DECLARATION AND VINDICATION OF JOHN PYM, ESQ.

"It is not unknown to all the world (especially to all the inhabitants in and about London) with what desperate and fame-wounding aspersions my reputation, and the integrity of my intentions to God, my King, and my country, hath been invaded by the malice and fury of malignants, and ill-affected persons to the good of the Commonwealth. Some charging me with being a promoter and patronizer of all the innovations which have been obtruded upon the ecclesiastical government of the Church of England. Others, of more spiteful and exorbitant spirits, alleging that I have been the man, who have begot and fostered all the so-lamented distractions, which are now rife in the kingdom; and though such calumnies are ever more harmful to the authors, than to those whom they strive to wound with them, when they arrive only to the censure of judicious persons, who can distinguish forms, and see the difference betwixt truth and falsehood: yet, because the scandals inflicted upon my innocence have been obvious to people of all conditions, many of which may entertain a belief of these reproachful reports, though, in my own soul, I am far above those ignominies, and so was once resolved to have waved them, as unworthy

of my notice : yet, at last, for the assertion of my integrity, I concluded to declare myself in this matter, that all the world, but such as will not be convinced, either by reason or truth, may bear testimony of my innocency. To pass by, therefore, the Earl of Strafford's business, in which some have been so impudent as to charge me of too much partiality and malice, I shall declare myself fully concerning the rest of their aspersions ; namely, that I have promoted and fomented the differences now abounding in the English Church.

“ How unlikely this is and improbable, shall to every indifferent man be quickly rendered perspicuous : For that I am, and ever was, and so will die, a faithful son of the Protestant religion, without having the least relation in my belief to those great errors of Anabaptism, Brownism, and the like, every man that hath any acquaintance with my conversation, can bear me righteous witness. These being but aspersions cast upon me by some of the discontented clergy, and their factors and abettors, because they might, perhaps, conceive that I had been a main instrument in extenuating the haughty power and ambitious pride of the bishops and prelates. As I only delivered my opinions as a member of the House of Commons, that attempt or action of mine had been justifiable, both to God and a good conscience ; and had no way concluded me guilty of a revolt from the orthodox doctrine of the Church of England, because I sought a reformation of some gross abuses crept into the Government by the cunning and perverseness of the bishops and their substitutes ; for was it not high time to seek to regulate their power, when, instead of looking to the cure of men's souls (which is their genuine office), they inflicted punishment on men's bodies, banishing them to remote and desolate places ; after stigmatizing their faces, only for the testimony of a good conscience, when, not contented with those insufferable insolences, they sought to bring in unheard-of canons into the Church, Arminian or Papistical ceremonies (whether you please to term them, there is not much difference), imposing burdens upon men's consciences, which they were not able to bear, and introducing the old abolished superstition of bowing to the altar ; and if it savoured either of Brownism or

Anabaptism, to endeavour to suppress the growth of those Romish errors, I appeal to any equal-minded Protestant, either for my judge or witness ; nay, had the attempts of the bishops desisted here, tolerable they had been, and their power not so much questioned as since it hath ; for when they saw the honourable the High Court of Parliament began to look into their enormities and abuses, beholding how they wrested religion like a waxen nose, to the furtherance of their ambitious purposes, then Troy was taken in, then they began to despair of holding any longer their usurped authority ; and, therefore, as much as in them lay, both by public declarations and private councils, they laboured to foment the civil differences between his Majesty and his Parliament, abetting the proceedings of the malignants with large supplies of men and money, and stirring up the people to tumults by their seditious sermons. Surely, then, no man can account me an ill son of the Commonwealth, if I delivered my opinion, and passed my vote freely for their abolishment ; which may by the same equity be put in practice by this Parliament, as the dissolution of monasteries and their lazy inhabitants, monks and friars, was in Henry the Eighth's time ; for without dispute, they carried as much reputation in the kingdom then, as bishops have done in it since ; and yet a Parliament then had power to put them down ; why, then, should not a Parliament have the power to do the like to these, every way guilty of as many offences against the state as the former ? For my own part, I attest God Almighty, the knower of all hearts, that neither envy, or any private grudge to all or any of the bishops, hath made me averse to their function, but merely my zeal to religion and God's cause, which I perceived to be trampled under foot by the too extended authority of the prelates ; who, according to the purity of their institution, should have been men of upright hearts and humble minds, shearing their flocks, and not flaying them, when it is evident they were the quite contrary.

“ And whereas some will allege, it is no good argument to dissolve the function of bishops, because some bishops are vicious : to that answer, since the vice of these bishops was derivative from the authority of their function, it is very

fitting the function, which is the cause thereof, be corrected, and its authority divested of its borrowed feathers; otherwise, it is impossible but the same power which made these present bishops (should the episcopal and prelatical dignity continue in its ancient height and vigour) so proud and arrogant, would infuse the same vices into their successors.

“ But this is but a molehill to that mountain of scandalous reports that have been inflicted on my integrity to his sacred Majesty; some boldly averring me for the author of the present distraction between his Majesty and his Parliament, when I take God, and all that know my proceedings, to be my vouchers, that I neither directly nor indirectly ever had a thought tending to the least disobedience or disloyalty to his Majesty, whom I acknowledge as my lawful King and Sovereign, and would expend my blood as soon in his service as any subject he hath. 'Tis true, when I perceived my life aimed at, and heard myself proscribed a traitor, merely for my entireness of heart to the service of my country, was informed that I, with some other honourable and worthy members of Parliament, were against the privileges thereof demanded, even in the Parliament House, by his Majesty, attended by a multitude of men at arms and malignants, who, I verily believe, had for some ill ends of their own persuaded his Majesty to that excess of rigour against us; when, for my own part (my conscience is to me a thousand witnesses in that behalf), I never harboured a thought which tended to any disservice to his Majesty, nor ever had an intention prejudicial to the State; when, I say, notwithstanding my own innocence, I saw myself in such apparent danger, no man will think me blameworthy in that I took care of my own safety, and fled for refuge to the protection of the Parliament, which, making my case their own, not only purged me and the rest of the guilt of high treason, but also secured our lives from the storm that was ready to burst out upon us.

“ And if this hath been the occasion that hath withdrawn his Majesty from the Parliament, surely the fault can in no way be imputed to me, or any proceeding of mine; which never went further, either since his Majesty's departure nor before, than so far as they were warranted by the known laws

of the land, and authorized by the indisputable and undeniable power of the Parliament ; and so long as I am secure in my own conscience that this is truth, I account myself above all their calumnies and falsehoods, which shall return upon themselves, and not wound my reputation in good and impartial men's opinions.

" But in that devilish conspiracy of Catiline, against the state and senate of Rome, none among the senators was so obnoxious to the envy of the conspirators, or liable to their traducements, as that orator and patriot of his country, Cicero, because by his council and zeal to the Commonwealth, their plot for the ruin thereof was discovered and prevented ; though I will not be so arrogant to parallel myself with that worthy, yet my case (if we may compare lesser things with great) has to his a very near resemblance : the cause that I am so much maligned and reproached by ill-affected persons, being because I have been forward in advancing the affairs of the kingdom, and have been taken notice of for that forwardness, they, out of their malice, converting that to a vice which, without boast be it spoken, I esteem as my principal virtue, my care to the public utility. And since it is for that cause that I suffer these scandals, I shall endure them with patience, hoping that God in his great mercy will at last reconcile his Majesty to his High Court of Parliament ; and then I doubt not to give his royal self (though he be much incensed against me) a sufficient account of my integrity. In the interim, I hope the world will believe that I am not the first innocent man that hath been injured, and so will suspend their further censures of me."—*Rushworth*, part iii., vol. ii. pp. 376-378.

APPENDIX V.

(Page 118.)

LETTER FROM THE KING TO PRINCE RUPERT, ORDERING HIM TO
RELIEVE YORK.

" NEPHEW,

" Ticknell (Tickenhall), 14 June, 1644.

" FIRST I must congratulate with you for your good successes, assuring you that the things themselves are no more

welcome to me than that you are the means. I know the importance of supplying you with powder, for which I have taken all possible ways, and have sent both to Ireland and Bristol. As from Oxford, this bearer is well satisfied that it is impossible to have at present, but if he tell you that I may spare them from hence, I leave you to judge, having but thirty-six left ; but what I can get from Bristol (of which there is not much certainty, it being threatened to be besieged) you shall have.

“ But now I must give you the true state of my affairs, which if their condition be such as enforces me to give you more peremptory commands than I would willingly do, you must not take it ill. If York be lost, I shall esteem my crown little less, unless supported by your sudden march to me, and a miraculous conquest in the South, before the effects of the northern power can be found here : but if York be relieved, and you beat the rebels’ armies of both kingdoms which are before it, then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift (upon the defensive) to spin out time, until you come to assist me. Wherefore, I command and conjure you, by the duty and affection which I know you bear me, that (all new enterprises laid aside) you immediately march (according to your first intention) with all your force to the relief of York ; but if that be either lost, or have freed themselves from the besiegers, or that for want of powder you cannot undertake that work, that you immediately march with your whole strength to Worcester, to assist me and my army, without which, or your having relieved York, by beating the Scots, all the successes you can afterwards have, most infallibly will be useless unto me ; you may believe that nothing but an extreme necessity could make me write thus unto you, wherefore, in this case, I can no ways doubt of your punctual compliance with

“ Your loving uncle and most faithful friend,

“ CHARLES R.”

“ I commanded this bearer to speak to you concerning Vavasour.”—*Evelyn’s Diary and Correspondence*, vol. iv., p. 140.

APPENDIX VI.

(Page 168.)

THE SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE, ADOPTED BY THE HOUSE OF
COMMONS, ON THE 3RD OF APRIL, 1645.

“ BE it ordained by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that all and every of the members of either House of Parliament shall be and by the authority of this ordinance are discharged at the end of forty days after the passing of this ordinance, of and from all and every office or command, military or civil, granted or conferred by both or either of the said Houses of this present Parliament, or by any authority derived from both or either of them, since the 20th November, 1640. And be it further ordained, that all governors and commanders of any island, town, castle, or fort, and all other colonels and officers inferior to colonels in the several armies, not being members of either of the said Houses of Parliament, shall, according to their respective commissions, continue in their several places and command wherein they were employed and entrusted, the 20th March, 1644, as if this ordinance had not been made. And that the vice-admiral, rear-admiral, and all other captains and other inferior officers in the fleet, shall, according to their several and respective commissions, continue in their several places and commands, wherein they were employed and entrusted, the said 20th March, 1644, as if this ordinance had not been made. Provided always, and it is further ordained and declared, that during this war the benefit of all offices, being neither military nor judicial, hereafter to be granted, or any way to be appointed to any person or persons, by both or either House of Parliament, or by authority derived from thence, shall go and enure to such public uses as both Houses of Parliament shall appoint; and the grantees and persons executing all such offices shall be accountable to the Parliament for all the profits and perquisites thereof, and shall have no profit out of any such office, other than a competent salary

for the execution of the same, in such manner as both Houses of Parliament shall order and ordain. Provided, that this ordinance shall not extend to take away the power and authority of any lieutenancy or deputy-lieutenancy in the several counties, cities, or places, or of any custos-rotulorum, or of any commissioner for justice of peace, or sewers, or any commission of oyer and terminer, or gaol delivery. Provided always, and it is hereby declared, that those members of either House who had offices by grant from his Majesty before this Parliament, and were by his Majesty displaced sitting this Parliament, and have since by authority of both Houses been restored, shall not by this ordinance be discharged from their said offices or profits thereof, but shall enjoy the same, anything in this ordinance to the contrary thereof notwithstanding."—*Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., col. 355.

APPENDIX VII.

(Page 184.)

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL HELD AT OXFORD,
DECEMBER 5, 1644.

"PRESENT :

The King's Most Excellent Majesty,

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Prince Rupert, | Earl of Berkshire, |
| Prince Maurice, | Earl of Sussex, |
| Lord Keeper, | Earl of Chichester, |
| Lord Treasurer, | Lord Digby, |
| Lord Duke of Richmond, | Lord Seymour, |
| Lord Marquis of Hertford, | Lord Colepepper, |
| Lord Great Chamberlain, | Mr. Secretary Nicholas, |
| Earl of Southampton, | Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer. |
| Lord Chamberlain, | |

"A letter was read, written by the Earl of Essex to his highness Prince Rupert, general of his Majesty's armies, in these words :—

'SIR,

'There being a message sent from his Majesty by the committees of both kingdoms that were lately at Oxford, con-

cerning a safe conduct for the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Southampton, without any direction, I am commanded by both Houses of Parliament to give your highness notice, that if the King be pleased to desire a safe conduct for the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, with their attendants, from the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, at Westminster, to bring to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, and the Commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, now at London, an answer to the propositions presented to his Majesty for a safe and well-grounded peace, it shall be granted. This is all I have at present to trouble your highness, being

‘ Your highness’s humble servant,

‘ ESSEX.’

‘ Dec. 3, 1644.’

“ This letter and the expressions therein being fully considered and debated, it was by the whole council unanimously resolved, that his Majesty’s desire of a safe conduct, in the terms expressed in that letter, would not be any acknowledgment or concession of the members of the two Houses sitting at Westminster to be a Parliament, nor any ways prejudice his Majesty’s cause.

“ Whereupon his Majesty declaring openly at the Board that, since such was their lordships’ opinion, that he did therefore and *eo animo* consent thereto, and accordingly his Majesty desired his highness Prince Rupert, as his Majesty’s general, to return this answer:—

‘ MY LORD,

‘ I am commanded by his Majesty to desire of your lordship a safe conduct for the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, with their attendants, coaches and horses, and other accommodations for their journey in their coming to London, during their stay, and in their return, when they shall think fit, from the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, in Westminster, to bring to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, and

the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, now at London, an answer to the propositions presented to his Majesty for a safe and well-grounded peace. Resting

‘Your lordship’s servant,

‘RUPERT.’

‘Oxon, 5 Dec., 1644.’

“Which answer was accordingly sent to London by a trumpeter.

“EDW. NICHOLAS.”

(The following is in the handwriting of Sir Edward Nicholas.)

“Memorandum :—That the king and myself, of all the council-board, were the only persons that concurred not in opinion that it was fit to call those sitting at Westminster a Parliament. Prince Rupert, though he was present, did not vote, because he was to execute what should be resolved on by this council ; but, by the order and practice of the council-board, if the major part agree to any act or order, all the councillors that are present at the debate, albeit they dissent, are involved, and are to be named as if they consented.—“E. N.” *Evelyn’s Diary and Correspondence*, vol. iv., p. 143.

APPENDIX VIII.

(Page 208.)

MARCH OF DAVID LESLEY.

I.

March, march, pinks of election !
 Why the devil don’t you march onward in order ?
 March, march, dogs of redemption :
 Ere the blue bonnets come over the border.
 You shall preach, you shall pray,
 You shall teach night and day ;
 You shall prevail o’er the kirk gone a whoring ;
 Dance in blood to the knees,
 Blood of God’s enemies !
 The daughters of Scotland shall sing you to snoring.

II.

March, march, dregs of all wickedness !
 Glory that lower you can't be debased ;
 March, march, dunghills of blessedness !
 March and rejoice for you shall be raised :
 Not to board, not to rope,
 But to faith and to hope ;
 Scotland's athirst for the truth to be taught her.
 Her chosen virgin race,
 How they will grow in grace,
 Round as a neep, like calves for the slaughter !

III.

March, march, scourges of heresy !
 Down with the kirk and its whilieballeery !
 March, march ! down with supremacy,
 And the kist fu' o' whistles, that maks sic a cleary ;
 Fife men and pipers braw,
 Merry deils, take them a',
 Gown, lace and livery, lickpot and ladle ;
 Jockey shall wear the hood,
 Jenny the sark of God,
 For codpiece and petticoat, dishclout and daidle.

IV.

March, march, blest ragamuffins !
 Sing, as ye go, the hymns of rejoicing !
 March, march, justified ruffians !
 Chosen of heaven ! to glory you're rising.
 Ragged and treacherous,
 Lousy and lecherous,
 Objects of misery, scorning and laughter ;
 Never, O happy race !
 Magnified so was grace ;
 Host of the righteous ! rush to the slaughter !
Hogg, Jacobite Relics of Scotland, vol. i. p. 5.

APPENDIX IX.

(Page 431.)

I GIVE here certain unpublished documents and despatches relative to the intervention of the States-General of the United Provinces in favour of Charles I. I have literally

translated them from certified copies of the originals, made by order of M. de Jouge, keeper of the records of the Netherlands, and sent to me from the Hague :—

“ I. A SUMMARY OF WHAT HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES CAUSED TO BE REPRESENTED ON HIS PART AND IN HIS PRESENCE TO THEIR HIGH MIGHTINESSES THE STATES-GENERAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF THE NETHERLANDS, BY MEANS OF THE RESIDENT OF THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, ETC., JAN. 23, 1649.

“ His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has for a long time had the intention of requesting a personal audience, to acknowledge the honours and great courtesies he has received from their lordships since his arrival in this country ; and now he desires it with peculiar earnestness, on an occasion of the greatest importance in the world to his Royal Highness, and in which he presumes their lordships will fully sympathise. Their lordships cannot be ignorant of the great danger in which the life of the King, his father, now stands ; how, after a personal treaty with his two Houses of Parliament, there was such progress made towards peace by the concessions of his Majesty that the said Houses declared themselves resolved to proceed on them to the establishment of the peace of the kingdom ; which would indubitably have taken place had not the army seized his Majesty's person, and committed to prison several members of Parliament who had shown themselves the most disposed for the said treaty of peace.

“ Such is, then, the state of that truly miserable kingdom ; the King is so closely confined, that a gentleman, sent expressly by his Royal Highness only to see his Majesty, was not admitted to his presence. The Parliament is so broken up and dispersed, that there only remains about fifty out of more than five hundred members in the House of Commons ; and the House of Lords, who have unanimously refused their concurrence in these violent proceedings, is practically annihilated by a declaration of these few Commons that all sovereign power in that kingdom belongs to them without King or Lords. So that the members of Parliament do not

meet, except those who agree and submit to the orders of a council of war, which has been constituted to govern the kingdom ; having to this end published a remonstrance containing the plan of a new government, which they desire to establish on the ruin of the Parliament as well as of the King, subverting the fabric and constitution of the kingdom, and of all its laws, and exposing the Protestant religion to the invasion of more heresies and schisms than ever in any century infested the Christian Church.

“ Not content with this confusion, they have passed a resolution and appointed commissioners for a trial of the person of his Majesty, apparently to depose him and take away his life ; which his Royal Highness cannot mention without horror, and which he is certain their lordships cannot hear without equal detestation.

“ What influence these unprecedented proceedings may have on the interest and security of all kings, princes, and states, and how much the extravagant power which these people have usurped may affect the tranquillity of neighbouring countries, and how far the reformed religion may suffer by these scandalous acts of those who profess it, it is needless for his Royal Highness to urge their lordships to consider ; but he contents himself with having given this sad recital of the condition and misery in which the King and Crown of England are at present placed ; convinced that their lordships will act thereupon according to the esteem and respect they have ever shown towards so good a friend and ally. His Royal Highness therefore promises himself, from the friendship and wisdom of their lordships, as soon as possible, such assistance from their councils and otherwise, as the present extreme necessity of the King, his father, and of his Royal Highness, require, who by this will ever be really and for ever feel obliged to contribute all in their power to the support and advancement of the interest, grandeur, and happiness of their lordships.”

In consequence of these representations of the Prince of Wales, the States resolved to send to London, as extraordinary ambassadors, M^M. Albert Joachim and Adrian de Pauw, with the following instructions :—

“ II. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE AMBASSADORS OF THEIR HIGH
MIGHTINESSES, SENT TO LONDON IN THE YEAR 1649.

“ The ambassadors will represent to the Parliament of England, that the consequence of the King's imprisonment will turn to the advantage or disadvantage of the kingdom of England, according to the moderation or severity that shall henceforth be shown towards his person ; for all neutrals are of opinion that the calamity in which he is at present, has come upon him because he was of a contrary opinion to that which has elsewhere prevailed, as to the means to be employed to remedy the evils which exist in the kingdom of Great Britain. As there is yet time to find remedies for these evils, the Parliament is requested not to suffer all sorts of pretexts to be seized upon to aggravate the grievances already charged upon the prisoner, and thus render him more unhappy than he is at present. Supposing that the party who has been defeated had gained the day, it is possible he might have judged with rigour the conduct of his adversaries, and refused them all means of defence ; but the States-General are persuaded that the good faith of all those who shall hear the propositions of the ambassadors will make them admit within themselves that this would not have been equitable, and that they will approve the axiom : *Politicum in civilibus dissensionibus, quamvis sæpe per eas status lædatur, non tamen in exitium statûs contenditur, proinde qui in ulterutras partes descendunt hostium vice non habendi.*

“ The States-General know that your Excellencies have appointed commissioners-extraordinary to examine the King's position ; they rely as much on the choice of your Excellencies as on the sincerity and good faith with which the said commissioners will give, on the case in question, a judgment which may be submitted to the examination of the whole world, and be one day approved by the Supreme Judge to whom they will be responsible. All well-disposed persons expect that, in an affair of such importance, a wise and Christian course will be pursued.

“ The experience of all times has shown that distrust easily introduces itself into governments ; that in those which are

composed of several bodies it is usually a powerful incitement ; that, in short, there is neither shame nor dishonour to be feared when the safety of the State is concerned, which renders all fears legitimate and commendable. Yet nothing can be more lamentable than to give way to extravagant suspicions, which interpret everything in an evil sense.

“ If your Excellencies thought that some calamity threatened the kingdom of England, in preventing it, you have attained your object. Every one knows that it happens to the wisest of those who govern a commonwealth to mix up with public affairs somewhat of their private affections ; and that never to fail in the management of great concerns is a perfection above human nature, and the failing in which may well be excused.

“ This is what the States-General beg your Excellencies to take into consideration, persuaded that you will do it with the greatest wisdom. Notwithstanding the distrust your Excellencies have conceived respecting so great a personage, you should take into account his long imprisonment (which, in itself, is already, according to the common law, a great punishment), and the great and notable services rendered to the kingdom of England by him and his predecessors, kings and queens. Your Excellencies will have compassion upon him, and remember : *Ut eximatur periculo qui est inter vos celebri fama, ne ipsis opprobrio multi magis ac magis alienentur.*

“ It is of great importance to the welfare of the kingdom of England that your Excellencies should proceed accordingly, and follow the counsel of that Roman who advised his countrymen, the better to assure the measures of Pompey’s consulship, not to annul anything that had been done under preceding governments, but only to be prudent for the time to come. One may with reason apply to the present circumstances that excellent precaution which one took to secure his own statue, by preventing the overthrow of that of his enemy, whom he had completely subdued. It is thus your Excellencies are requested to act in an affair of such high importance, which may be the source of many troubles, and to show your goodness towards this great personage, in preserving him from

shame and ignominy ; for it is not sparing men to allow them to be dishonoured. The Parliament is, then, entreated to restore the king to liberty.

“ The ambassadors are also, according to circumstances, *mutatis mutandis*, to lay the above considerations before General Fairfax and the council of the army, adding, that their distinguished merit has given them great authority in the kingdom of England, and that all these things depend principally on them, and will turn upon their intentions. On which account the States-General recommend this affair to their great wisdom, so that they may be to England (whose greatest hopes are now placed in them), not only a shield and a sword in time of war, but also a help to the King in his unhappy situation, by directing public discussions towards a good and moderate end, by which the kingdom will profit, and which will bring on themselves immortal glory. By their magnanimity, they will cause most of their fellow-citizens to shed tears of joy, who are at this moment on the point of weeping with sorrow. Of old, it was said that the Syracusans were but the body and the limbs, and that Archimedes was the soul which gave motion to all ; the same thing may be said at present, with far more reason, of the kingdom of England, and of his Excellency and the council of the army : this body and these limbs will not act, in the present affair, under any other direction than that which his Excellency and the council of the army shall give them according to their wise reflections. While thus setting forth their own eminent qualities in fresh glory and grandeur, the benefit will be felt by every inhabitant of the kingdom. The ambassadors will moreover add, that there was a great captain and wise statesman who gloried in having never caused any one of his countrymen to shed a tear, regarding as the sweetest fruit of his victories that he could every day dare to meet all his fellow-citizens, following the proverb : ‘ That clemency wins love and reverence for all those who practise it, and that severity, far from removing obstacles and difficulties, usually augments and multiplies them.’

“ Prudent physicians, also, fear to employ too powerful remedies, because these often drive the disease and the life

from the body at the same time, and for greater safety's sake they prefer the use of gentler means.

"If his Excellency and the council of the army act thus, the hearts of the well-disposed subjects of England will unite in reciprocal friendship, better and more powerful to consolidate a state than the heaviest chains of iron.

"The States-General think that the kingdom of England will be invincible, if his Excellency, as well as the council of the army, will proceed on foundations so equitable to the world and so agreeable to God, and which are besides so conformable to the character of the English nation, and to the situation of its affairs. Finally, the States-General entreat his Excellency and the council of the army to embrace and employ the said means, so that the King may be enlarged from his prison and restored to liberty."

III. FIRST DESPATCH FROM THE AMBASSADORS-EXTRAORDINARY IN ENGLAND TO THE STATES-GENERAL.

"HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

"ON arriving here on the 5th instant, towards evening, we were received by the Master of the Ceremonies of Parliament with many excuses, and we immediately requested and insisted upon an audience for the next day. On the 6th, early in the morning, we requested, through our secretaries and the Master of the Ceremonies, to be presented to both Houses of Parliament. In reply, the Speaker of the Upper House sent word to us, that the said House had adjourned to Monday, and the Speaker of the House of Commons intimated that, notwithstanding some particular obstacles, he would present our request, and endeavour to obtain assent to it. Our secretaries having waited for the answer, the Speaker let us know in the afternoon that the House had not been able to sit in the morning, because all the judges, who form part of it, had had to attend the high court of justice, and that for this reason the Lower House also had been obliged to adjourn to Monday next. Learning afterwards, that on the same day the said court of justice had pronounced sentence of death against the King, in his own presence, we

succeeded, on Sunday the 7th instant (although all occupations that do not relate to religious worship are set aside on this day), after much trouble, in obtaining in the morning, first, a private audience of the Speaker of the Lower House, then, one of that of the Upper House; and, at last, in the afternoon (but not without great difficulty), we were admitted to the presence of General Fairfax, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and the principal officers of the army, who were at the same time assembled at the General's house. We made all possible representations to the said Speakers, General, and Lieutenant-General, as well in private as when assembled together; we supported our solicitations with the most powerful arguments we could devise, to obtain a reprieve of the King's execution (which, it was said, was fixed for Monday), until we should have been heard by the Parliament; but we only received different answers, dictated by the disposition or the temper of each of them.

"On Monday the 8th, early in the morning, we sent again to the Speakers of both Houses, to urge them to obtain an audience for us; and after our secretaries, together with the Master of the Ceremonies, had been kept waiting at Westminster till the afternoon, we were all at once informed, scarcely ten minutes before the time, that the two Houses would receive us before they went to dinner, and that we were to go at two o'clock to the Upper House, and at three to the House of Commons. We acted according to this intimation, and went to the Upper House, where there were very few peers, as well as to the House of Commons, where sat about eighty Members. After having verbally stated and delivered in writing the substance of our instructions, tending principally to have the King's execution postponed until we should, in a second audience, or in conferences, have had opportunities to state more powerful grounds to induce them to grant him his life, or at least not to proceed precipitately to execute the sentence of death, we were answered by the two Speakers that our proposal should be taken into consideration.

"The members of the Upper House voted, that conferences on this subject, between the two Houses should immediately

take place ; but as the day was already far advanced, and as the members of the House of Commons, as soon as our audience was over, rose to depart, even before we had left the anteroom, into which we had been conducted on our way out, we with all speed had our proposal translated into English, and delivered to the Speaker of the Lower House, and afterwards to the Speaker of the Upper House.

“ Yet, having seen yesterday, as we passed by Whitehall, that preparations were making, which were said to be for the execution, and having conferred for a long time this morning with the Commissioners of the Crown of Scotland, to save, if possible, the King’s life, we still continued to request of Parliament, through our secretaries, either an answer or another audience ; and endeavoured, by the intervention of the Scottish Commissioners, to speak once more to the General, and met him about noon at his secretary’s house, at Whitehall. The General was at length touched by our animated and pressing entreaties, and declared that he would go directly to Westminster, and recommend to Parliament to grant the answer and the reprieve we requested, and that he would take a few officers of note with him to support the application.

“ But we found, in front of the house in which we had just spoken with the General, about two hundred horsemen ; and we learned, as well on our way as on reaching home, that all the streets, passages, and squares of London were occupied by troops, so that no one could pass, and that the approaches of the City were covered with cavalry, so as to prevent any one from coming in or going out. We could not, and we knew not in consequence, what further to do. Two days before, as well previous to as after our audience, we had, by trustworthy persons, been assured that no proceeding or intercession in the world could succeed, and that God alone could prevent the execution resolved upon ; and so the Scottish Commissioners, with great pains, had also told us. And so it proved ; for, the same day, between two and three o’clock, the King was taken to a scaffold covered with black, erected before Whitehall. His Majesty, accompanied by the Bishop of London, who, it is said, had that morning, at six o’clock, administered

to him the holy sacrament and consolations of religion, after having said a few words, gave up the garter, the blue riband, and his cloak, took his coat off himself, and showed a great deal of firmness in all his conduct. The King, having laid himself down, his head was cut off, and held up to the gaze of the assembled crowd.

"This is what, to our great regret, we are obliged to announce to your High Mightinesses ; and we declare that we have employed all possible diligence, without intermission and with all our power, to acquit ourselves of your High Mightinesses' commission, in seeking to prevent the execution of this so fatal sentence. Meantime, as in this country all kinds of reports are put forth, for and against, according to every one's fancy, and as they are often misinterpreted and embellished or exaggerated, particularly now all minds are so excited, we pray your High Mightinesses, in case you should receive reports contrary to or more alarming than the present, to place no faith in them ; and to believe us, who came hither at the peril of our lives, and have neglected none of the duties with which we were charged.

"We dare not send your High Mightinesses the further particulars that we learn in many quarters, confidential or public, on this event, as the passage is very difficult, all the seaports being closed. We will only add that it is said the King, on the scaffold, recommended that religion should be strengthened by taking the advice of Roman Catholic divines, and that the rights of the Prince, his son, should be respected ; adding, that he thought himself in conscience innocent of the blood which had been shed, except of that of the Earl of Strafford. Immediately after the King's death, it was announced and proclaimed throughout the City by sound of trumpet.

"We beg the Almighty to grant a long prosperity to your High Mightinesses, and to your high and mighty Government.

(Signed)

"ALB. JOACHIM.

"London, February 9th, 1649."

IV. SECOND DESPATCH.

“ HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

“ BY our first despatch of the 9th instant, we minutely informed your High Mightinesses of all the proceedings we had taken with the principal functionaries and other eminent personages in this country, as well as of the solicitations we addressed to them, and the proposals we transmitted publicly and in writing to the two Houses of Parliament (of which we herein insert a copy, not having had time to append it to our preceding despatch, which was sent by an unexpected opportunity), proposals which were left unanswered, as was our request to be admitted to a second audience, and which were followed by the immediate execution of the King, and the prohibition to any one whomsoever, under pain of high treason, to take upon himself any authority in the name of monarchical power, or to acknowledge and favour the Government of the Prince of Wales, or any other pretender to the royal succession.

“ Already, before this event, we apprehended, and our fears have since been realized, that it had been resolved among the authorities here to abolish entirely the monarchical Government, and to establish one of a quite different nature ; for it is publicly said here that the descendants of the late King will be, without any exception, excluded for ever from any sovereignty in this country, though it is not ascertained what sort of Government is to replace that which is abolished.

“ We have also just heard that already commissioners are appointed by Parliament to go with all speed to Scotland, where they presume and announce being able to direct affairs according to the system adopted in England. It is also said, publicly as well as in private, that the members of the Upper House show themselves displeased at the King's execution, and do not at all agree with the House of Commons on the changes to be introduced in the Government ; on the other hand, it is thought that Scotland wishes to remain faithful to monarchical Government, and to its old institutions. It is difficult to foresee what will be the issue of all these combinations

and changes in the two countries; and though public tranquillity is nowise disturbed in this capital, in consequence of the strict watch kept by the numerous military posts, we are ignorant what, in this respect, is the situation of the provinces.

"Yesterday, we received a visit from the Lieutenant-General Cromwell, who spoke to us with infinite respect of the Government of your High Mightinesses; among other subjects, he introduced that of religion, giving us to understand that, with the concurrence of your High Mightinesses, it would be as possible as necessary to re-establish it here upon a better system, and to give it a better organization.

"The Earl of Denbigh, who came also yesterday to see us, spoke at great length on different questions relating to the Government, past and to come; whence we concluded that there are still many affairs to arrange, and that the measures they propose to take do not afford any probable conjecture as to their issue and success. As the unhappy event of the King's execution puts an end to the negotiation with which our extraordinary embassy was charged, we will jointly use our endeavours that the affairs of our mission may suffer as little as possible, and may continue to be treated according to the interests and to the entire satisfaction of your High Mightinesses.

"The high court of justice having terminated its functions, other extraordinary tribunals have been instituted, to try the peers and other illustrious state prisoners, such as the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, Lord Goring, &c. Those of a lower rank will be tried by the ordinary tribunals, and the prisoners of war by a court-martial.

"Among other matters that are at present treated of in Parliament, it is proposed that our people should enjoy here all the rights of navigation, commerce, manufacture, trades, and market, equally and in common with the English nation. We were not ignorant of these dispositions, and, moreover, were given to understand that they would be disposed to make more full and minute proposals to us on this subject. We think we hereby give your High Mightinesses an evident proof that people here are occupying themselves with questions quite out of the ordinary track of affairs.

" We implore the Almighty to keep in long prosperity the Government of your High Mightinesses.

(Signed)

" ALB. JOACHIM,

" A. PAUW.

" London, February 12, 1649."

V. THIRD DESPATCH.

" HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

" AFTER the bloody catastrophe which put an end to the King's life, an event of which our despatches of the 9th and 12th instant informed your High Mightinesses, we resolved to keep within our lodgings, after the example of other ambassadors, and of the Scottish Commissioners. The French ambassador and the Scottish Commissioners, however, having paid us a visit before this event, and the Spanish ambassador having repeatedly done us the same honour before and after, we could do no otherwise than return these acts of kindness : we accordingly acquitted ourselves of this duty on the 13th, and we remarked that their excellencies were deeply affected by this great event, though the French ambassador had assured us beforehand of his perfect knowledge of the events which would take place.

" The ambassador of Spain, Don Alfonso de Cardenas, told us that the day after this fatal event he had received orders from the King his master to intervene in the affairs of this country : but at present he is of opinion, as well as the French ambassador, that by the unexpected death of the King of England, their diplomatic functions and character having ceased, they cannot act any longer in their high office, nor interfere in any respect until they have received fresh orders from their Court. The Scottish Commissioners have sent two despatches to their constituents, that is, to the Scottish Parliament at present assembled ; they expect an answer to their first despatch in the course of the week, and will not act till they are duly authorized.

" The general opinion is, that the Government will undergo an entire change ; that the Royal Family will be set aside, and another form of Government introduced ; that perhaps they will imitate that of the Republic of Venice, of the

United Provinces, or some other Republican Government. We are informed that, in fact, nine members of the House of Peers and eighteen of that of the House of Commons are to meet in commission to draw up conjointly the basis of a fresh constitution. The 13th of this month was the day appointed for the meeting of the King's judges, in a court of justice at Westminster Hall; but we have just been informed that the meeting did not take place, the judges having alleged that they were not sufficiently qualified for this, their functions having expired at the King's death, and that they cannot resolve to accept so suddenly their new nominations made by Parliament, nor change the title of their acts of procedure and other necessary formalities, such as those adopted by Parliament on the 29th of January, 1648, and which we transmitted to your High Mightinesses by our despatch of the 9th instant. We continue in the most complete uncertainty as to the issue of the events which, from the diversity of opinions and other fortuitous occurrences, may still undergo vicissitudes that it is impossible to submit to any probable conjecture; we shall, therefore, merely remark, that hitherto public tranquillity has not been in any way disturbed; and we pray your High Mightinesses to attach no other value to our information than that which may be merited by our efforts to discover truth in this maze of true and false reports which we receive on all sides, and which only leave us the satisfaction of confidentially informing your High Mightinesses of what we have been able to collect in our zeal for your service.

(Signed)

" ADRIAN PAUW,

" ALB. JOACHIM.

" London, February 15th, 1649."

VI. FOURTH DESPATCH.

" HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

" THE information contained in our last despatch, of the 15th of this month, having appeared sufficiently important to us, we took care to forward it to your High Mightinesses by a safe and speedy opportunity; yet the wind having since

that time been very contrary, we fear it did not reach its destination so speedily as we had hoped. Since that, we have witnessed events of still greater importance. On the 16th of this month, the House of Commons, notwithstanding the expectation and the wish of the commissioners of both Houses, sitting in committee, and which requested to be consulted on all the measures to be taken, decreed that the House of Lords should from that period cease its functions, and be no longer consulted or looked upon as a deliberative body, or as constituting an authority in anything concerning the affairs of the kingdom; so that, notwithstanding that the lords and princes still retain their titles and dignities, and are qualified to occupy any office whatever, there will in future be only one sole House of Commons as the English Parliament; and the peers will no longer be admitted in it but as deputies elected by the counties. Next day, the 17th, the House of Commons by a decree abolished for ever the office of King in England. We are informed, moreover, that the Parliament, thus reduced to one House of Commons alone, will meet once every two years for a limited time; and that permanent executive power will be vested in a council of thirty or forty members, of whom about twelve may be peers. The council thus organized will represent, during the recess of Parliament, the sovereign power of the kingdom. This last measure is not, however, so definitely resolved as the two above-mentioned. The House of Commons is becoming, by degrees, complete, by the return of several members, who resume their seats on signing an expurgatory act, by which they declare that they renounce the opinions which heretofore placed them in opposition to their colleagues. It is also said that at an early day new judges for the higher courts will be elected, and new justices of peace.

"The Earl of Denbigh, Speaker of the House of Lords, not having been able to send us a message on the 17th, came to pay us a visit on the 18th, to inform us in what manner had been carried into effect the dissolution of this assembly, and to deliver the last commands he had received from their lordships, in transmitting to us their answer to our proposals; and after having read them to us, he gave us the copy, which we

enclose in the present despatch, retaining to himself the original manuscript as his personal quittance, adding that it was, at the same time, the last deliberative act of the Upper House, which had not wished to dissolve until it had given this mark of respect to your High Mightinesses.

"The House of Commons also sent to ask us, by its own messenger, when it would suit us to present ourselves to them to receive their answer to our proposals. To which we replied, that as soon as the House would acquaint us with the time appointed for this audience, we would attend.

"Since the unhappy event of the King's death, we had not insisted upon an answer; and though we had heard no more about it, we learn at this moment that an outline of this answer has been published in the 'Gazette,' without any official communication of it having been sent us. A report had previously been spread, and even printed, that we had requested that our proposals should not be made public. Nothing can be more false than this assertion. Without having in any way interfered in the matter, or having even mentioned a word on the subject, we left it entirely to the discretion of the two Houses, to each of which our proposals were separately addressed in writing, with the necessary form. We have remarked, besides, that the reply made by us to the Speaker of the House of Commons, when our proposals were delivered, has not been inserted in the 'Gazette' in its real tenour, and it has been hitherto impossible for us to discover whether such publications appear with or without the sanction of the superior authorities.

"On the 16th of this month, some troops of infantry and cavalry marched hence to Bristol; and there is a report that in that town, as well as at Gloucester, some indignation has been expressed against the proceedings of Parliament. Here, however, and in the neighbourhood, all is quiet.

"To-day being the day appointed for the appearance of the impeached lords before the newly-created High Court at Westminster Hall, Goring, Capel, Hamilton, Holland, and Sir John Owen, these lords, with the exception of the Earl of Holland, who is ill, appeared before that Court, and after

having heard each in his turn, the charges brought against him, and given in answers to them, were sent back to prison, to await another summons for the continuation of their trial.

(Signed)

“ADRIAN PAUW,
“ALB. JOACHIM.”

VII. FIFTH DESPATCH.

“HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

“THE Commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, having received despatches from their Parliament, sent word of their contents to us last evening at a somewhat irregular hour, and forwarded to us the proclamation, the decree, and the letter, copies of which accompany this despatch. Your High Mightinesses will learn by their contents, that the Prince of Wales has just been proclaimed, by the Scottish Parliament, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. The Commissioners, besides, informed us that a gentleman had been immediately sent abroad with copies of these decrees; that the proclamation of them had been made in every direction, and that they were preparing forthwith to send an envoy, furnished with the largest instructions to his Majesty. It is rumoured here that the Parliament is much displeased at this measure; and particularly because the Scots did not content themselves with proclaiming him King of Scotland only, but had added to his titles ‘King of Great Britain and Ireland.’ Levies of troops are going on here in secret, and are constantly dispatched towards Scotland and other places, which makes it to be presumed that in the latter engagements many men were killed. The capital yet continues to enjoy perfect tranquillity, and exhibits no appearance of sedition. The complements of the men-of-war are being made up, one after another, and we should not be surprised if in a very short time there were nearly thirty vessels perfectly equipped and ready for sea; this number, it is confidently said, will hereafter be increased to seventy, and it is added that three commissioners of Parliament will take the command or

superintendence of this fleet : as to that, there seems no longer any mention made of the Earl of Warwick as commander. Last Monday, the 22nd instant, the gentleman-usher came to inform us that on the Wednesday or Thursday following, we should be requested to go to Parliament, to receive, before the whole House, an answer to our proposals. On Wednesday he informed us that the audience would take place on Thursday evening ; and accordingly on that day we were conducted in state to Westminster Hall. Having been immediately introduced into the House of Commons, we sat down on the chairs placed for us, and the Speaker, having read to us the answer of the House, gave us a copy of it. Whereupon, we answered, in a few words, that when we had read it, we would ourselves transmit it to our Government, whom it was our intention, with the least possible delay, to rejoin, and that we availed ourselves of the present opportunity to take leave of Parliament in our quality of ambassadors-extraordinary. The House that day was much fuller than at our first audience, on account of the return of several of their absent members, and the restoration of many dissentient members who had successively come to resume their seats under the expurgatory Act. The nomination of a greater number of members has been one of the first cares of the new House ; after which they proceeded to elect the thirty-eight members of whom the State Council of the kingdom is to be composed, and whose names and qualities your High Mightinesses will read in the enclosed 'Gazette.' The judges of the kingdom also resumed their sittings last week, and held their usual term.

" The day before our last audience, and consequently after the notification we had received of it, we received the letters of your High Mightinesses of the 22nd instant ; and having already made preparations for our departure, we shall effect it as soon as possible, wishing to return as soon as we can to your High Mightinesses, to communicate the answer we have received, and render a detailed account of our mission, which has been accompanied and followed by a multitude of incidents and circumstances, which, in the present precarious state

of affairs, we do not think proper to trust to paper. Contrary winds and severe frosts having impeded the navigation of the Thames, we cannot fix the day of our departure ; but we will seize the first opportunity to return, either directly or by way of Dover and Calais, notwithstanding the inconveniences which this last passage is said to present.

“ The state prisoners, viz., the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Goring, Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, have already appeared several times before the high court of justice. The first put in a bill of exceptions, but it was rejected, and he was ordered to prepare his defence, and counsel were assigned to him. The three others have confined themselves within the terms of their defence, particularly Lord Capel, against whom, as to the capitulation and the quarter granted, General Fairfax and Commissary-General Ireton were heard as witnesses, appearing for this specially before the Court. All these circumstances make one entertain fears as to the fate of these noble personages, who are considered to be in imminent danger. We think it proper to inform your High Mightinesses, that the present is the sixth despatch we have sent you, the two preceding ones being of the 15th and 19th instant; the delays occasioned by contrary winds and the frost give us reason to fear that all may not have reached your High Mightinesses.

(Signed)

“ ADRIAN PAUW.

“ ALB. JOACHIM.

“ London, February 26th, 1649.”

THE END.

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